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### Christian Church

ASSERTED,

Against the Romish, and all other Priests who claim an Independent Power over it.

WITH

A PREFACE concerning the Government of the Church of England, as by Law Establish'd.

### PART I.

The Chird Edition Corrected.

No Man can serve two Masters, Mat. 6. 24.

A Kingdom divided in it self cannot stand, Mark 13. 24.

Humani Juris & Naturalis Potestatis unicuique quod putaverit colere. Tertul. ad Scap.

LONDON, Printed in the Year 1707.



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## PREFACE

tedge all and severy Arriclescollasses and able to the World San God in the the severe

gib of the area office one Othing is more disputed at present, than who is the best Church man, both High and Low Church laying claim to it; and therefore it can't be doubted but both will approve my Design in setting this Dispute in a fair Light, and shewing what is meant by the Church of England as by Law establish'd: wherein I shall make it appear that they who raise the greatest Noise about the Danger of the Church, are the greatest Enemies to it, by asserting such Notions as undermine both Church and State, and are in direct opposition to the Principles of the Reformation; and that they mean some other Church besides

besides the Church of England, which being established by Acts of Parliament, is a perfect Creature of the Civil Power; I mean the Polity and Discipline of it, and 'tis that which makes all the Contention: for as to the Doctrines express'd in the Articles, I don't find High Church to be in any manner of pain; but they who lay claim to most Orthodoxy can distinguish

themselves out of them.

2. Tho the 36th Canon expresty commands the Clergy to Subscribe the Articles willingly and ex animo, and to acknowledg all and every Article to be agreeable to the Word of God; and tho the 13th of Eliz. c. 12. obliges every Benefic'd Clergyman to make a Declaration of bis unfeigned Affent; and the Title of the Articles, which shews the Intent of the Imposers, is, that they were agreed on in Convocation for avoiding Diverfitys of Opinions, and for establishing Consent touching true Religion: Tet for all this it has obtain'd with High Church, that they are not Articles of Rehef but of Peace; and that their subferibing 'em is not to be consider'd as a Declaration of their Opinion, but as a bare Obligation to Silence, which yet they break every day with relation to the Articles concerning Predestination, Election, &c. And if Men of opposite Sentiments.

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can subscribe the same Articles, they are as much at liberty as if there were none. The late Bishop of Worcester affirms, vindic. of that a Man might be very right in the the Doctr. Belief of an Article, the mistaken in pref. p.21. the Explication of it; which is supposing it sufficient for Men to agree in Sounds, tho they ever so much differ about the Meaning of 'em. And one wou'd think it was no small Crime with High Church to put any Meaning at all upon'em. since they rail so much at the Bishop of Sarum for presuming to write an Expo-sition of em. These Men treat the Articles as they do the Oath of Allegiance, which they say obliges 'em not actually to assist the Government, but to do nothing against it; that is, nothing that wou'd bring'em to the Gallows : So the Articles are sufficiently kept, if nothing is said against 'em, which endangers their Preferments.

If then these Mens Zeal is chiefly, if not wholly consin'd to the maintaining of the establish'd Government and Polity of the Church, 'tis to be hop'd they will not condemn me for shewing that the Doctrine of Two Independent Governments, one belonging to the Clergy by Divine, the other to the King and Parliament by Human Right, is inconsistent with the Constitution of the Establish'd Church: Which A 3

before I attempt, it will be necessary to shew what is contain'd in the Idea of Government.

3. It wou'd be in vain for one Intelligent Being to pretend to set Rules to the Actions of another, if he had it not in his power to reward the Compliance with, or punish the Deviations from his Rules, by some Good or Evil, which is not the natural Consequence of those Actions; since the forbidding Men to do or forbear an Action on the account of that Convenience or Inconvenience which attends it, whether he who forbids it will or no, can be no more than Advice. All Government therefore supposing a Legislative Power, if the Glergy have the Government of the Church by Divine Right, they must have the same Right to make what Laws they judg conducive to the Good of the Church, in determining all such Matters as they judg can't conveniently remain undetermin'd; or, in other words, applying the general Rules of the Gospel, as the Magistrate does those of Nature, to particular Things and Perjons: and consequently they must have all that's necessary to Legislature, as assembling when and where they please, sitting as long as they think fit, &c. And as they alone can make Ecclesiastical Laws, so they alone can suspend or repeal 'em; and a Divine Right to make Laws, Suppoles

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poses the same Right to put 'em in exe-cution, and consequently all that's necessary to that End. And because this Government is to be continu'd from Age to Age, they must have a Right to convey to others the same Power they themselves enjoy. And fince these three things are essential to any Government that's to last above an Age, we shall consider the Constitution of the National Church as to each of 'em. And.

4. First, as to a Legislative Power, if that belongs to the Clergy by Divine Right, it must be when they are assembled in Convocation: but the 25 H. 8. c. 19. is a Bar to any such Divine Right, because that Act makes it no less than a Præmunire for them so much as to meet without the King's Writ; and when they are met, they are ty'd up by the same Penalty from attempting to do any thing without the King's Licence first obtain'd; and afterwards no Resolution of theirs can have the Force of a Canon, unless the King is pleas'd to confirm it; nor is it even then valid, if it be contrariant to or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of this Realm, or be to the Damage or Hurt of the King's Prerogative Royal. And confequently, if the Laws of the Land are chang'd ever so often, all Canons are utterly

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utterly void which at any time are found inconsistent with them: and the Power of the Parliament reaches to the annulling of Canons, even in the most Spiritual Things; as when they enact that no Canon 8 Elizic. I. Shall be good, which is contrary to the Form they establish for the Consecrating of Bi-(bops. And if the Parliament can annul Ecclesiastical Laws, they must be able to

make 'em, since no greater Power is requir'd for one than the other; and consequently the Convocation has no Power which is not deriv'd from and dependent on them, which they can abride, curtail

and annul as they think fit.

How otherwise cou'd they make all the Acts of a Convocation mere Nulitys, and the Clergy liable to the severest Penalties, if they do not observe all those Forms and Methods they prescribe'em in their Sitting and Acting? And if the Parliament did not think they had a Plenitude of Power in this matter, they wou'd not have damn'd

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13 Car. 2. all the Canons of 1640. nor declar'd no other Ecclesiastical Laws or Canons to C. 12. be binding, not formerly confirm'd, allow'd, or enacted by Parliament, or by the Establish'd Laws of the Land, as they stood in 1639.

5. De Majoribus Omnes was a Fun-Tacirus de Mor. Ger. damental amongst our Ancestors long before they arriv'd in Great Britain, and Matters

Matters of Religion were ever reckon'd among their Majora: and all the Laws in the Saxon and British Times which concern'd the whole Church, were, as our Historians testify, made by the same Power which made the Temporal Laws, and put in execution by the same Persons. The tearing the Ecclesiastical Power from the Civil was the cursed Root of Antichrist; those Powers were not distinct till the See of Rome got the Ascendant, and without that the Canon Law cou'd never have broke in. upon us: Then, and not till then, did the Clergy attempt to bind the Laity by Laws they never consented to; but their Design was never brought to Perfection. For tho the Ecclesiastical and Civil Courts were di. vided in William the Conqueror's Time, yet during his and several of his Successors Reigns, as is bown from undeniable Authoritys by Mr. Washington, there were no Observ. on Laws enacted concerning Religion, but by the Eccles. the great Council of the Kingdom: nay, the the Kings determining who shou'd be acknowledg'd of England. for Pope in the Schisms that happen'd in the Reigns of William Rufus, Henry II. and Richard II. (which one wou'd think was purely Ecclesiastical) was not left to the Clergy, but settl'd by Parliament, and Laws made to punish the Clergy who wou'd not own the Parliamentary Popes. And after this, even during the greatest Dark-

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ness and Superstition, this Notion of Liberty, that no Man ought to be bound by a Law he does not consent to, was fo strongly engraven on our Ancestors Minds, that nothing cou'd efface it: and we find 'em often protesting, that this and t'other

n. 62.

Rot. Parl. thing does not bind 'em, because done 40 E.3. n. without their Consent; that they wou'd 7, 8. Rot. Without their Content's that they would Parl. 5E.3. not be bound by any Ordinances of the art.46.Rot. Clergy without their Affent; that they Parl. 6R.2. wou'd no more subject themselves to the Clergy, than their Ancestors had done. And when by the abolishing of the Pope's Power things were brought back to their antient Channel, the Parliament's Right in making Ecclefiastical Laws reviv'd of course. And to Suppose a Canon, which the Parliament has not confirm'd, or which has not obtain'd by long Use, can bind the People, is to make a Canon obligatory in defiance not only of Common and Statute Law, but of the very Constitution it felf; of which from the very Beginning it has been a Fundamental, that the People are bound to no Laws but of their own chusing : and Christianity was never design'd for the subverting of our Constitution, or depriving Englishmen of their so much valu'd Liberty, in subjecting em to Laws they never consented to, by themselves or Representatives. And that the People. are bound by no Laws or Canons, which

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are not confirmed by Parliament, or established by the Law of long Use and Custom, is by the 21 of H. 8. c. 21. declared in as express Words as can be.

How cou'd the Parliament, if the Convocation had a Divine Right to make Ecclesiastical Lans, enable both Henry 8. and Edward 6. to authorize thirty two Persons, half of 'em Laymen, to establish 25 H. 8. c. all such Ecclesiastical Laws as shou'd be 19. 35 H. thought by the King and them convenient 27 H. 8. c. to be us'd in all Ecclesiastical Courts, and 15. 3,4 E. that all other Canons shou'd be null and 6. c. 11. void? A Power greater than ever was .8 11: trusted, at least since the Reformation. with any Convocation. And is it not to a Clause in the 25 of H. 8. C. 19. that all Ecclesiastical Laws now in use do one their Establishment? Nay, the Convocation is so far from acting on the foot of a Divine Right, that the King's Injunctions have been taken ever fince the Reformation to bind the Clergy equally with their own By-Laws or Canons : and accordingly we find that King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Elizabeth have enforc'd their Royal Injunctions by no less Penaltys than Suspension, Deprivation, and Incapacity. And the Bishop of Saturn Reflections shews us that the Crown for above 140 on a Book, inticked, Years has been in possession of a Right TheRights of making use of a Convocation, on of of an Engl. Settling Convocat.

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settling Matters of Religion without it. So that the Clergy's Power seems not to be so great as that of every petty Corporation; for whom as our Kings can't make any By-Law, so what they make for themselves are binding, tho not consented to by the King, or without observing those Formalitys the Convocation is oblig'd to do. And the Parliament, as they wou'd not Suffer the Convocation to declare what is

1 Elic.c. 1. Heresy, so they enact that no Determina-5. 36. tion of theirs in Religion shall be ad-\$. 35. judg'd Error, Schism or Heresy. And

35 H. 8. when they impower'd Bishops and Doctors of Law to make Ordinances concerning c. 16. Religion and Faith, they limited 'em to such as were agreeable to the Laws of God and the Nation; which shews, that as all the Power which these Men had was from Them, so they reserved to themselves and their Ministers a Right to judg of their

Ordinances, whether they were agreeable to the Laws of God, as well as to those of the Nation. Nay, the Parliament de-

25 H. 8. clares, that it standeth with Natural Equity and Good Reason, that the King, Lords and Commons have full Power and Authority not only to difpense, but to authorize some elect Perfon or Persons to dispense with all hu-

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gate, annul, amplify or diminish, as may to them feem meet and convenient, &c. And this they affirm appears plain and evident by divers Acts of Parliament made in the time of H.8's Progenitors. as well as in his own time: which is as plain a Declaration as can be, that they esteem Theirs the sole Legislative Power. and that all other Power (that of the Convocation not excepted) is deriv'd from and dependent on them. And the Parliament's enacting Laws concerning Faith. Worship, Doctrines, Church-Government, ordaining and depriving Bishops. Priests, &c. and concerning Rites, Ceremonys, and all other Church-matters, fully shews that they did not think the making of Laws about those things belong'd by a Divine Right to another Legislative Pow-Nay, the Clergy themselves, without disowning the Lawfulness of National Churches, must come into this Notion. because it does not depend on the Clergy, but upon the Sovereign National Powers. whether there shall be a National Church: And consequently the Legal Establishment of the Faith, the Worship, the Doctrinal Articles, the Discipline, the Rites and Ceremonys of the National Church, must be wholly owing to Them; fince in all such matters, to which their Laws do not extend, no Church can be said to be National

or Established by Law; and as far as the Magistrate establishes any thing, they are part of the Civil Constitution. And 'tis absurd to suppose that the Glergy of the National Church have an Independent or Legislative Power in Such things as wholly depend on the Will of the Legislators, when ther they shall belong to the Constitution of the National Church, which in every Country is differently fram'd according to the different Sentiments of its Sovereigns. And our Convocations must be Creatures of the Legislators, unless it cou'd be provid that Deans, Archdeacons, and Proctors for Chapters, who are 100 of the 138 that compose the Lower House of Convocation, have by Divine Right a Share in the making of the Laws of the National Church of England. And if a Convocation so model'd be of Divine Right, ours only can pretend to be so, since we have no Instance of any other National or Provincial Synod compos'd of two distinct Houses, one of Bishops, t'other of Presbyters.

6. This, I think, is sufficient to show that by the Constitution of our Church the Clergy are not supposed to have any Divine Legislature, because That must be superior to all Worldly Power: and then the Clergy might as well forbidthe Parliament to meet, but when and where they please,

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and prorogue or dissolve 'em as they think fit; and not suffer 'em to treat or debate of the subject Matter of any Law, without a previous Licence from the Archbishop; nor allow any Law to be valid till confirm'd by him, nor then neither if inconsistent with the Customs or Canons Ecclesiastical, or the Archiepiscopal Prerogative: Then they might as well appoint thirty two Persons, half Clergy, to examine the Laws of the Land, and abrogate or continue with the Consent of the Archbishop what Laws they think fit. This, I say, the Clergy, if Governors of the Church by Divine Right, might as well do with relation to the State, as the Civil Governors do the Same with respect to the Church. And the only reason why the Clergy can't do this, is because Civil Power is not deriv'd from nor dependent on 'em.

7. The next thing to be consider'd is Jurisdiction, which is inseparably united to Legislation, because the Penalty is the Sanction of the Law; which Sanction wou'd be to no purpose, if they who enacted the Law had not a Power to execute it, and consequently a Right to erect Courts of Judicature, appoint Judges, and invested with a sufficient Power to summon Witnesses, and to do every thing else necessary for convicting Offenders, in order to have the legal Punishments inflicted

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on 'em. And whoever the Legislators entrust with doing this, are their Ministers, in putting their Will, the Laws, in execution: to which they can have only a precarious Right, dependent on the Plea-Sure of the Legislators, except where the Executive Power is lodg'd with one without whose Consent no Law can be made. But as no Bishop has a Negative, so whatever Jurisdiction any one of 'em is intrusted with, must be deriv'd from the Convocation, if the Legislative Power of the Church is in Them; to which he can have only a precarious Right depending on the Will of the Bishops and Presbyters, consider'd as two distinct Bodys that make up the Convocation: which not only puts the Presbyters upon a Parity with the Bishops in the highest Act of Church-Government, but likewise shews that all the Jurisdiction of the Bishops is as much deriv'd from the Lower as from the Upper House; since their Share in the Legislature, from whence all Jurisdiction refults, is equal. But we do not find any Bishop or other Ecclesiastick pretend to have his Jurisdiction, either immediately or mediately, from the Provincial Synods of Canterbury or York: and then there's no other Legislature except that of King and Parliament, from whence any Jurisdiction, either Ecclesiastical or Civil,

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Parliament have the sole Legislative Power, so they have trusted the Supreme Executive Power, in Ecclesiasticals as well as Civils, with the King or Queen, as appears by several Acts made in the Reigns of H. 8. Edw. 6. and Q Eliz. of which I shall only mention two or three.

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8. The 37 H. . 8. c. 17. declares that " Archbisbops, Bisbops, Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, have no "manner of Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, but by and under the King's Majesty, the only undoubted Supreme Head of " the Church of England, to whom by " Holy Scripture Power and Authority is e given to hear and determine all manner of Causes Ecclesiastical, and to correct " Vice and Sin what soever, and to all such " Persons as the King's Majesty shall ap-" point thereunto; and that all Laymen " being Doctors of Law, &c. being con-" Stituted Chancellors, &c. by the King's Majefty or Successors, or by any Arch " bishop, Bishop, &c. may lawfully ex-" ercife and execute all manner of furifdiction commonly call'd Ecclefiaftical, and all Censures and Coercions appertain-" ing, or in any wife belonging to the fame : reciting withal, " that the Bifhop of

" Rome and his Adherents minding ut-

serly, as much as in them lay, to abo-

25 H. 8.

" list, obscure, and delete this Power given " to the Princes of the Earth, that there-" by they may gather and get to them-" selves the Government and Rule of the World, had made divers Ordinances, " that no Layman Shou'd or might exer-" cife or occupy any Jurisdiction Ecclei siastical, lest their false and usurp'd " Power which they pretended and went " about to have in Christ's Church, shou'd " decay, wax vile, and be of no Reputati-" on, &c. which being directly repugnant to the King's Majesty as Supreme Head of " the Church and Prerogative Royal, his "Grace being a Layman, and albeit the " said Ordinances are utterly abolish'd, yet because the contrary is not put in prac-

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tice, be it enacted, &c.

9. Tho the Clergy bad own'd the Powers here mention'd to be in the King, by recognizing in their Convocations that he was justly and rightfully Supreme Head of the Church of England, as is Suppos'd by 26 H.S. c.1. yet that Parliament adds, " For Corroboration and Confirmation thereof, " be it enacted that the Kings of this " Realm shall have full Power from time " to time to reform and correct all Errors, " Heresys, Enormitys, Offences, Abuses, " Contempts, what soever they be, which by any manner of Spiritual Authority or " Jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be " reform'd.

" reform'd. And the Commission to Cromwel, who as the King's Vicegerent 31 H. 8. in Ecclesiasticals was by Act of Parliament c. 10. plac'd above the Archbishop of Canterbury, was as full and ample as Words cou'd make it. And in the next Keion, the Statute I Edw. 6. c. 2. retites, that all Authority of Jurisdiction Spiritual is drawn and deducted from the King's Majesty, as Supreme Head of the Churches of England and Ireland, and so justly acknowledg'd by the Clergy of these Realms. And this Act being reviv'd by 1 Jac. 1. C. 25. which repeals the Repealer I M. c. 2. may be reckon'd a new Parliamentary Acknowledgment of the Regal Supremacy in that Reign. And tho in Queen Elizabeth's Time the Title of Supreme Head was thang'd into that of Supreme Governor, yet by the first Act of her Reign, intitled, An Act to restore to the Crown the antient Jarildiction over the State Ecclefialfical and Spiritual, it is established and enacted, " That " such Jurisdictions, Privileges, Supe-"rioritys, and Preheminences Spiritual " and Ecclefiastical, as by any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power and Authority have " hitherto been, or may lawfully be exercis'd " or us'd for the Visication of the Eccle-" siastical State and Persons, and for the " Reformation, Order, and Correction of a 2

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the same, and of all manner of Errors. " Heresys, Schisms, Abuses, Offences, " Contempts and Enormitys, Shall for ever " by Authority of this present Parliament, 6 be united and annex'd to the Imperial " Grown of this Realm. And fuch Zeal did the Parliament (bew for settling these Powers in the Crown, that this Claufe is again repeated in 8 Eliz. c. 1. And to tie the Clergy and all others to acknowledg this Regal Spiritua! Supremacy according to the Extent and Meaning of it, in I Eliz. c. 1. it is enacted, that for the better Observation and Maintenance of this Act, all that take Orders or Degrees in the Universitys, and all that have any Office under the Government, are to take the Oath of Supremacy, in which they acknowledg, that the Queen is Supreme Governor in all Spiritual or Ecclefiaffical Things or Causes, and that they will to their Power affift and defend all Turifdictions, Privileges, Preheminences and Authorities granted or belonging to the Queen, her Heirs and Successors, or united or annext to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. And as Queen Elizabeth was invested with the same Power and Authority her Brother and Father had, fo the 13 Car. 2- same is continued down to this day, except it be that the High-Commission Court, which made the Prince Judg of Original Causes, and

and thereby prevented the Benefit of Appeals, is abolish'd: which yet does not, as that Act declares, abridg or diminish the Ibid. King's Supremacy, or hinder but that all Spiritual Causes, which can be try'd by any Bishop or other Spiritual Person whatever, are finally determin'd by Judges delegated by the King, who exercise all manner of Ecclesiastical Censures, without having so much as any Priest to pronounce their Sentence. For how cou'd the Archbishop himself, or any by his Authority, pretend to pronounce a Sentence in a Cause which is appeal'd from him to a superior Judg? And Shou'd the Delegates suffer this, they would betray the Authority by which they act. And the Bishops are sometimes joind in Commission with the Common and Civil Lawyers, yet they seldom concern themselves till the final Sentence; all intermediate Acts being generally perform'd by the Civilians, who excommunicate for Non-appearance, or any other Contempt. And if the King can revoke any Spiritual Censures of the Bishops or Archbishops, or can excommunicate, sufpend, or deprive them, or any other Ecclesiastical Persons; nay, can by his Proclamation pardon all Excommunication, and restore People to the Communion of the Church; it (bews that there's no Branch of Spiritual Jurisdiction which is not vested in him, and

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that all the Jurisdiction which the Arch Bps, Bishops, or any other inferior Ecclesiastical Judges have, is deriv'd from him. Nay, 10. Had our Governors in the Popilb Times thought that Bishops had a Divine Right to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, they wou'd never have presum'd to exempt Places from their Power; of which it wou'd be tedious to recite all the Instances. The Abby of Glassenbury was ex-Burnet's Historiche empted by King Ina, that of St. Albans Ref. Par. 1. by Offa, that of Abington by Kenulph King of Mercia, that of St. Edmondsp. 142. bury by Kanute, and that of Battel by W lliam the Conqueror: and all those Abbys which were of the King's Foundation, and all the King's Donatives, were Davies subject only to the Visitation of the Lord Rep. 46. Chancellor, or of special Commissioners appointed under the Great Seal. And if any 6He7.c.14. private Person had the King's Licence to found a Free Chappel, it was exempted from Episcopal Jurisdiction, unless the Founders otherwise directed: and the Bishops who wou'd not allow those Exemptions, have for their Presumption been punish'd by the King's Temporal Courts; and the the Clergy Sometimes got the Pope's Bulls to confirm these Exemp-tions yet they were never judicially allow'd here; nor cou'd any Person plead em without danger; nay, the pleading

a Pope's Bull of Excommunication was ad-30 kdv.3. judg'd no less than Treason by Common 11. 19.

Law, before any Statute made it so.

11. When Religious Houses were dis-Solv'd, the Parliament impower'd H.S. either 31 H. 8. to restore the Churches belonging to those c. 3. . Houses, to the Jurisdiction of the Bishops; or to bestow 'em on any other: who pursuant to that Power deliver'd many of 'em to Laymen, who there exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. And none is thought uncapable of this Trust, who is capable of any other Possession; it being, like all other Possessions and Inheritances, transmitted and affign'd according to the Rules of the Common Law. As here none has a Right to exercise any Acts of Ecclesiastical Power but the Lord, and under him his Steward; so in each of the Universitys, the Judg of the Court, who has Power to inflict Ecclesiastical Censures, is usually a Layman, and acts in the place of the Chancellor, who often is, and always may be a Layman, as both are now.

Courts were not distinct till William the Conqueror, so till then the Clergy cou'd not exercise any Independent Power. Nay, till King John's Time, all Appeals from the Archbishop were to the King's Court, according to the Statutes of Clarendon, which are frequently call'd, Avitæ Confuctudines Regni. And when the Pope in

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Henry 2's Time attempted to get Appeals to himself, and the King, as part of the Penance he was to do for killing the Traitor Becket, mas forc'd to submit to it; the Nation wou'd not Suffer it, but renew'd the Assize of Clarendon, and they who had appeal'd to Rome were to be outlaw'd if they did not in a certain time stare Juri in Curia Domini Regis. This Gervasius Dorobernensis, who well understood it, tells us was but renewing the Assize of Clarendon. And the Law has all along set the same Bounds to the Ecclesiastical as to the Civil Courts, both as to Persons and Things; and the Temporal Courts punish'd any Ecclesiastick who presum'd to Janus Ang. exceed these Bounds. The Bishops cou'd 93. Speed not for any cause whatever excommunicate any of the King's Officers or Tenants, who were very numerous, without his Licence: or if they excommunicated any who by peculiar Privileges were exempt from Episcopal Jurisdiction, or for what the Common Lawyers judg'd to be a Temporal Cause, the Courts of Justice were open to receive the Complaints of those Persons, whom under pretence of a legal Prosecution they Coke 2. had injur'd. And there are many Preinft.623. cedents of Indictments prefer'd against Bishops on this account, who have been forc'd to make satisfaction to the Persons injur'd. Nay, our Lawmakers, in the dark-

457.

est Times of Popery, trusted the judging of the most Spiritual Things with the Justices of Peace and Assize, whom by 2 H. 5. c. 7. they impower'd to enquire of certain Heresys, Errors, and Lollardies, which they specify'd, and to punish those they found guilty; by which the Parliament not only excluded the Clergy from judging what Heresy was, but suffer'd 'em not to be Instruments in reforming what they had pronounc'd such: so that they refus'd to submit themselves and the People to the Laws of the Clergy, but Subjected the Faith of the Clergy to the Examination and Censures of Laymen. They suspected the Love of Power natural to Churchmen, and their Holy Artifices to acquire and inlarge it beyond all bounds; and fear'd perhaps that if they trusted'em with the Execution of this Law, they wou'd persidiously abuse their Power to the Oppression of those who gave it 'em, of which they had as many Instances, as the Clergy had Trusts bestow'd on 'em. And if the Parliament, even in the very Height of Popery, prescrib'd to the Ecclesiastical Courts in what Causes they shou'd act, and against what Persons, and after what manner, and plac'd an over-ruling Power in the Temporal Courts to punish 'em if they exceeded those Bounds they set 'em; it shews they were Authors of the Laws by which both Courts acted, since only the Legislative Power

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Power can direct, order or prescribe to the Executive:

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And if at the Reformation the Parliament invested the King with the Executive Power in all Spiritual Matters, must not the whole Legislature be in Them? And if the Clergy have no Spiritual Jurisdiction Independent of the King, they can have no Legiflature; because they who have no inherent Right to execute the Laws, can have no Right to make the Laws. So on the contrary, if they had a Divine Right to make Laws, they must have the same Right to execute 'em. And if in the Causes of Wills, Marriages, and such-like, the Clergy judg'd by an Authority deriv'd from the Laws of the Land; must they not from the Same derive their Power to inflict Spiritual Censures in these Causes? And if the 2 and 3 of Edw. 6. c. 13. enables the Ecclesiastical Judg to excommunicate in a Case in which he cou'd not do it before; and if the 5 and 6 E. 6. makes it lawful in a certain Case for the Ordinary (which supposes it was not so before) to suspend a Layman ab ingressu Ecclesia, and a Clerk from the Administration of his Office, the Parliament must be able to grant bim such a Power. Nay, we find the Parliament has taken upon'em to excommunicate: of which if the 3 Jac. 1. c. 5. which Says, that whoever is convict

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vict of Recusancy shall stand and be reputed to all intents and purposes difabled, as a Person lawfully and duly excommunicated, as if he had been fo denounc'd and excommunicated according to the Laws of this Realm, be not a full Proof; yet certainly the 5 and 12 of Edw. 6. c. 4. is, which enacts, that if any Person shou'd strike, or lay violent hands on another in the Church or Churchyard, then ipso facto every one so offending shall be deem'd excommunicate, and be excluded from the Fellowship and Company of Christ's Congregation; and that every Person that draws a Weapon to strike another, be and stand ipso facto excommunicated. And if in this Case it has been thought necessary there shou'd be a declarative Sentence in the Spiritual Courts pursuant to this Statute, it alters not the Cale: for that's not from any Doubt of the Parliament's Power of excommunicating, but that the Offender might judicially appear to have been guilty of the Fact. And when by the Court he is found to be so, they declare the Sentence of the Parliament upon it, and do not pronounce their own.

To this I might add, that Deans and Archdeacons exercifing the highest Acts of Episcopal Jurisdiction, is wholly inconsistent with the modern Notion of Bishops being

being by Divine Right Governors of the Church: and if the Jurisdiction of the former is but of a late Date, and a human Constitution, it can be built on no other than a Parliamentary Foundation.

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13. If after what has been said, any shou'd yet doubt whether by the Legal Constitution of our Church the Clergy have an Independent Power, let him try whether the Laity can have any Civil Power, except what is deriv'd from the Clergy, supposing these have the same in Civils as the King and Parliament have in Ecclesiasticals. If it belong'd to the Clergy to establish a Civil Constitution, and make Laws in all matters relating to it, even to the ordaining of Civil Officers; wou'd not they who put these Laws in execution be their Ministers, acting only by an Authority deriv'd from them? And is not the Case the same, if the State makes Laws with relation to Ecclesiastical Officers, and appoints after what manner they shall be made, and by whom, and how they shall be qualify'd, and upon what terms they shall hold their Offices, and who shall suspend and deprive 'em, and for what Causes? Which brings me to that which is next to be consider'd, whether an Independent or Divine Power in the Clergy of making and depriving Ecclehalticat

fiastical Officers and Ministers, is not in-

consistent with the Laws.

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14. If to divide a National Church into Districts and Parishes, and appoint Ecclesiastical Officers for them, can't be done without a Legislative Power, because nothing less can give them, exclusively of all others, a Right to those particular Districts and Parishes, and make it a Duty in all who live within 'em to own em for their Ecclesiastical Officers; then this most evidently appears with relation to Bishops, because all of 'em, each in his own District, are invested with Power and Jurisdiction, which none can bestow except the Legislature. Now if those Bishops, who happen to be authoriz'd by the King to consecrate other Bishops, have no Legistature themselves, nor act by a Commission deriv'd from the Convocation, in whom the Legislature wou'd be invested, if the Clergy of the National Church had such a Power; the Jarifdiction any Bishop has, and his Right to have a share in the making of Ecclesiastical Canons, and the Power of constituting inferior Ministers. must be deriv'd mediately from the Parliament, but immediately from the King, as having the Supreme Executive Power. Nor can this be evaded by saying the Scripture requires Obedience to Bishaps, for so is does to Judges and other Civil Officers; and and yet none can have a Right to make them, except he who is a Legislator himself, or acts by his Authority. So, is it not the same to give this or that Person Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over the Inhabitants of this or that Place? There's no way of evading this, except by making the Church a private Society, and allowing no more Power to belong to it than to other private Companys and Clubs; and consequently, that all the Right any one has to be an Ecclesiastical Officer, and the Power he is entrusted with, depends on the Consent of the Partys concern'd, and is no greater than they can bestow.

15. If the Clergy had a Divine Right to make the Bishops of the National Church, and, which is necessarily included in it, to assign to each the District he was to govern; the Magistrate cou'd no more have a Right to name 'em, or to assign to each the Limits of his Jurisdiction, or to deprive any of 'em, even for a time only, than the Clergy cou'd do any of these things, with relation to those Officers who in their several Divisions have Civil Jurisdiction. But our Parliaments have from time to time depriv'd Bishops as well as other Ecclesiasticks; which is a sufficient Proof they thought they had not their Bishopricks by a Divine Commission, because they cou'd no more take

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away, or even suspend such a Commission, than give it : and they might, for instance, as well have made Cardinal Campegi and De Chinuchii Bishops of Salifbury and Worcester, as have enacted, Barnet's that their several Sees and Bishopricks Part 1. P. were utterly void. And there has not 148. been a Reign since the Reformation, in Collect p. which the Parliament has not made Laws 121. 1.48. for depriving Ecclesiasticks. Were not a great number depriv'd by Parliament upon the Restoration? And since the Revolu. tion, have they not depos'd Bishops as well as other Ecclesiasticks? Nay, have they not trusted this Power with our Princes? And upon an Appeal from the Archbishop, whose Jurisdiction extends to the depriving Bishops as well as other Ecclesiasticks, does not the Supreme Cognizance in this matter belong to her Majesty's Delegates? Nay, did not Queen Elizabeth deprive all the Popish Bishops, and was it not declar'd good and valid by 39 Eliz. c. 8? And might not Charles I. if there had been just cause, as well have depriv'd Archbisbop Abbot as suspended him?

16. If the Legislative Powers can dissolve a Bishoprick, as they did that of Durham by the 7 of Edw. 6. they must be able to unbishop a Man; since Bishops and Bishopricks are Relatives, and consequently can't subsist one without the other:

and

and when they consolidate or make two Bishopricks into one, they wholly deprive one Bishop of all his Episcopal Power, since he can have no more Right to exercise his Function in that Bishoprick he is depriv'd of, than in any other where the See is full. And had not the Parliament thought they had an Absolute Power in this matter, they wou'd not have pretended 31H.8.c.9. to authorize Henry 8. to nominate such number of Bishops, and Sees for Bishops, as he thought fit. And do not the Bishops of Oxford, Bristol, Glocester, &c. owe the Foundation of their Authority to the Civil Powers, who created those Places into Bishopricks? Nay, were not 1 Jac. 1.c. 3 all the Archbishopricks and Bishopricks founded by the Kings of these Realms? And is not the King the rightful Patron of all of 'em? And were not the Bishops, till the Time of Hen. 1. as is plain from the Historians of those times, elected in Parliament? and did they not receive their Investiture from the King, per dationem

Annuli & Baculi?

17. In a word, if all the Bishopricks are founded by the King, or, which is all one as to this case, by the King and Parliament, and they can increase or diminish their Number as they please; Can the Bishops of these Sees be Independent of them, when all their Power stands or falls with their

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their Bishopricks? The Parliament suppose their Power in making Bishops, as great as in making other Officers: which, as it can't be done without some Form or other, so they authoriz'd King Edw. 6.3&4 E.6. to appoint fix Prelates and fix other Perfons to devise a Form and Manner of making and confectating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the Church; and that in which the Majority (in which there might be only one Prelate) agreed, if set forth under the Great Seal, shou'd be us'd exclusively of all other. And had they not a Legislative Power in this matter, they cou'd not enact, that all 8 Elizic. 13 which has been done relating to the Confecrating of Bishops, shou'd be good to all Intents and Purposes. Nay, had they not vested the Power of making Bishops in the Queen, they cou'd not have added, " That " divers Persons by the Queen's Supreme " Authority have been elected, made, and " consecrated Bishops; and that she by ber " Supreme Power and Authority had dif-" pens'd with all Causes or Doubts of any " Imperfection or Disability: so that all " who consider the Intents of the Said Sta-" tutes, and of the Supreme and Absolute " Authority of the Queen, and which she " has us'd in and about the making and " confecrating of the said Archbishops, " Bishops, &c. And if the Queen has Supreme

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Supreme and Absolute Authority in and about making and consecrating of Bishops. 'tis most plain that the Bishops imploy'a by the Queen in confirming, investing, and consecrating of other Bishops, atted minister rially by virtue of her Absolute Authority. And the manner of electing, confirming, and consecrating of Bishops, plainly shows that the Clergy act ministerially; since the Chapter is oblig'd within twelve days to chuse the Person the King names in the Conge d' Elire; and if they do not, the King's Nomination without more ado is Sufficient. And the Archbishop and Bishops, to whom the King's Signification is directed, as they are commanded and requir'd to confirm the Election, and to invest and consecrate the Elect with all Speed and Celerity; so if they do not confirm and consecrate the Elect within twenty days, as well as the Chapter present him within so many days, they all incur a Premunire; a greater Penalty than the Civil Ministers Suffer for disobeying the Royal Mandate. But had the Bishops a Power from God to make Bishops, nothing sou'd be more sacrilegious than for a Prince to command his Ecclesiastical Sovereigns, on the greatest Penalty except Death, in a matter on which the whole Government of the Church depends; and where, by this Supposition, he has nothing more

25 H. 8. c. 20. more to do, than to obey the Ruler the Bishops set over him. Should the Bishops pretend to command thus in Civil Matters,

they wou'd be guilty of Treason.

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18. None can dispose of the Power of a deceas'd Bishop, except he or they to whom upon his Death it devolves. Now it can't be pretended it devolves to all the Bishops. or a set Number, or a single Bishop; because the King may appoint any Archbishop with two other Bishops, or any four Bishops, to consecrate the Elect (the Confirmation being performed by the Vicar General, who is for the most part, if not always, a Layman) and the Parliament need not have confin'd him to that Number. Nor can it be pretended that those whom the King commissions, act by an inherent Right, for then he cou'd not have nam'd any others; because no more than one Person, or several so united, can have an inherent Right to bestow the same thing at the same time. since 'tis impossible there shou'd be several Originals of the same thing, the Power of the deceas'd Bishop must devolve to the King alone; and the Bishops commission'd by him must derive all the Authority they exercisa in disposing of this Power to a new Bishop, from him who commissions'em to act according to the Laws already mention'd: which supposes that all Spiritual Power is vested in the King, and that whatever the Bi-Shops b 2

(hops or other Ecclesiasticks have is deriv'd from him. And if the Bishops are made by the King's Authority, whatever Power they have of making Priests and Deacons in the National Church must likewise be deriv'd from him, because whence they derive their Bishopricks they must derive all the Power which belongs to 'em. And if Tithes and First-Fruits are paid to Spiritual Persons as such, the King or Queen is the most Spiritual Person, because the Bishops themselves pay him or her their First-Fruits and Tenths. Thus, Ithink, I have made it plain from the Laws which relate to the Church, that nothing is more inconsistent with 'em than an Empire within an Empire, and that all the Power the Clergy have in the National Church is deriv'd solely from the Parliament; and con-Sequently that none can be for the Church as'tis settled by Law, who don't abbor all Independent Power in the Clergy.

19. After what has been here said, it is needless to shew the Sense of the Clergy, since their private Opinions cou'd not alter the Law, or make the Church to be otherwise settled than it is: and having all sworn to the Regal Supremacy, we ought not to presume that they suppose that Supremacy inconsistent with any Powers which they claim by Divine Right; and if they do, it only shews that Interest can get

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the better of their Consciences. And how great soever their Authority may be in a Point which is against their Interest, yet certainly it can be of little weight, when 'tis to gain over Princes and States, as well as the rest of Mankind, an absolute and uncontrolable Power, of which only God can deprive 'em. But since so much stress is plac'd on the Opinions of the Bishops and other leading Divines at the Reformation, which some endeavour to misrepresent to the prejudice of the Establish'd Church; it will be proper to give an account of their Sentiments. And the 25 H. 8. c. 19. being enacted at the Request of the Clergy, and pen'd in the very Words of their Petition, there can be no greater Argument of their disowning all Independent Power. And as we find 'em in the first Year of King Edward's Reign humble Petitioners for the King's Licence to authorize 'em to attempt, intreat, and commune of Burnet's fuch Matters, and therein truly to give Hift. Ref. Part 2. Col. their Consents, which otherwise they n. 117. cou'd not do; so they have never since attempted to make any Canons, without the King's Licence first obtain'd to confer, debate, treat, consider and consult: and the first Canon of those made in 1640. declares, "That the Power to call and dissolve " Councils, both National and Provincial, is the true Right of all Christian " Kings

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## The Preface.

"Kings within their own Realms; and when in the first times of Christ's "Church Prelates us'd this Power, 'tmas "therefore only because in those days they had no Christian Kings. Which Supposition makes all Arguments for any Power of the Clergy, built on the Practice of those Times, inconclusive. And agreeably

Hist. of the Great Pussendorf affirms, "That because Popedom. "Sovereigns did not at first concern them-

" selves with the Welfare of the Christian Religion, the Christians therefore with-

out their Assistance constituted a Ministry

" among st themselves, which was main-

" tain'd by them as well as it cou'd.

owning Hen. 8. to be Supreme Head of the Church, took out Commissions for the exercising of their Spiritual Jurisdiction; Archbishop Cranmer, as Anthony Hamer has shewn, leading the way. And upon King Edward's coming to the Throne, the remewing of those Commissions was thought so necessary for carrying on the Reformation, that one of the first things order'd was, that the Bishops shou'd take out new Commissions of the same Form. And pursuant to this Order, Archbishop Cranmer's Commission bears date the 7th of February, 1547. and the King came

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to the Crown but the 26th of the precedent January. And in these Commissions they Hist. Ref. acknowledg " all fort of Jurisdiction, as P. 2. Col. well Ecclesiastical as Civil, to have " flown originally from the Regal Power, was from a Supreme Head, and as a Fountain and Spring of all Magistracy within his own Kingdom; and that they " who exercis'd this Jurifdiction formerly, " had done it only precario, and that they ought with grateful Minds to ac-" knowledg this Favour deriv'd from the "King's Liberality and Indulgence: and P. 240. " that accordingly they ought to yield it up " whenever the King thought fit to require " it of 'em. And among the Particulars of Ecclesiastical Power given them by this Commission, is that of ordaining Presbyters, and of Ecclefiaffical Correction; and all this to last no longer than the King's Pleasure. And these things are faid to be per & ultra, over and above what belongs to 'em by Scripture; which is supposing that these things do not belong to the Office of a Bishop by Scripture: but tho they did, yet so long as the Magistrate gives one a Right to that Office in the National Church, he gives him a Right to all those things in which the Scripture Reforleg. makes the Office to consist. And in that Anglic. de Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws Offic & (which wou'd have been confirm'd pursuant omn. Judic.

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to the Acts made about it, had not the King's Death prevented it) it is declar'd that the King has plenissimam Jurisdictionem over the Clergy, and that both Ecclesiastical and Civil Jurisdiction is deriv'd from the King as from one and the same Fountain. It's true, in H. 8's Time all the Divines did not come into this Notion, or at least till after 1540. For at a Consult of the most eminent of 'em, held at Windsor, there were three who suppos'd Laymen cou'd not excommunicate, but the rest were unanimous that they cou'd; and some of 'em said it was given to the Church (taking it in the sense in which our Articles explain it, the Congregation of the Faithful) and to such as the Church Shall institute.

Burnet's Hist. Ref. Collect. 3. P. 240.

on this head, since nothing can be more notorious than that the King's Spiritual Supremacy, as settled by Acts of Parliament, was by our Divines made the Characteristick of the Church of England against Popery and Fanaticism; and was not only the Means by which the Reformation was carry'd on, but the Ground on which the whole was justify'd. Nor was it possible for them to defend the Establish'd Church against all Opposers, without justifying all those Powers the King and Parliament exercis'd in Church-matters.

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And we find the Canons as low down as King James's Reign require the Clergy not only to observe themselves, but to oblige all others can. 37. to their utmost to keep and observe all and every one of the Statutes and Laws that were made for restoring to the Crown the antient Jurisdiction it had over the Ecclesiastical State: And they declare, Whoever shall affirm that the Can. 22 King has not the fame Authority in Ecclesiastical Causes as the pious Jewish Princes and Christian Emperors had, or shall endeavour to hurt or extenuate it, as 'tis fettled by the Laws of this Kingdom, is ipso facto excommunicated, and not to be restor'd but by the Archbishop, after he has publickly recanted these impious Errors. And among the Jews there were not two Independent Powers to limit each other, as that High Churchman Mr. Thorndike owns, who faith, That it only becomes the Wilfulness of ch. 17. of them who neither understand the Scrip-his Epist. of others to imagina Tel Con gedy of of others, to imagine an Ecclesiasti-theChurch cal Court distinct from the Secular, under the Law, in which the Priests were the Judges. And Archbishop Ban-Coke 3. croft, in the Articuli Cleri deliver'd to the Inft. 1601. King in the Name of all the Clergy, owns, that the heretofore the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Jurisdistion were de facto, tho not

not de jure, deriv'd from several Heads, yet that now they are both annext to the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

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Irenic.c.7. 22. Dr. Stillingfleet bas made it appear, that the Generality of our Divines have all along acknowledg'd the Mutability of Church Government, and that it belong'd to the Supreme Powers in every Nation to model it as best agrees with the Civil Constitution. And Archbishop Whit-Whitgift gift lays, That it is the Opinion of the best Writers, that there's no one certain kind of Government in the Church. which must be perpetually observ'd; and, he adds, that the Jurisdiction of the Christian Magistrate implies a Change in the first kind of Government. Rut because I shall in the following Treatise shew that the Mutability of Ecclesiastical Government was the receiv'd Opinion of the Nation, Clergy as well as Laity, I will now only mention the first Act of the fecond Parliament of Ch. 2. in Scotland, to which all the Bishops there concur'd, and none of the Laity protested against it, tho it enacts; " That the Discipline of the as external Government and Polity of the " Church is in his Majesty and his Suc-" cessors as an inherent Right of the " Crown; and that they may settle, enact, " and limit such Constitutions, Acts, and " Orders concerning the Administration

against Cartwright, p. 678, 679.

of the external Government of the Church, and the Persons employ'd in the same, and concerning all Ecclesiastical Meetings, and Matters to be propos'd and determin'd therein, as they in their Royal Wisdom shall think fit. And Charles 2. in his Royal Wisdom thought sit that the Bishops shou'd hold their Bishopricks during Will and Pleasure: and I do not find that High Church complain'd of this as an Encroachment on the Divine Rights of Bishops.

In a word, that the Clergy of the National Church have no Independent Power, is so very plain from the Laws of the Land, that all which is pretended to the contrary is, that our Princes do not preach or administer the Sacraments, but that the Laws leave this in the National Church to the Clergy, exclusively of all others.

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23. This does not prove that they are more Independent than Lawyers, Physicians, and Men of other Professions and Employs, to whom the Laws allow the same Privilege: but they are, like all others, in the Exercise of their Functions, subject to the Laws which the Supreme Powers prescribe em, and are suspended, deprived, or otherwise punished for the breach of em. Nay, have not the Common-Law Judges a Power to determine whether a Manhas

has a legal Right to the Sacrament, and to give Damages to a Person whom they judg to be injur'd by the Priest refusing it him? Tho our Princes can no more judg in Person than exercise the Ecclesiastical Function, yet that does not hinder but all the Judges Ecclesiastical and Civil derive their Power from 'em: and since they are to see that all Ecclesiasticks in their several Stations do their Duty, they may be term'd, as they have been of old by the Clergy themselves, Pastores Pastorum, Episcopi Episcoporum, Pontifices Maximi, Vicarii Dei, &c.

24. If the Design of the Bishop of Rome and his Adherents, in excluding Laymen from exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, was, as the 37 of H. 8. declares, to get and gather to themselves the Rule and Government of the World: Was not the Intent of the Convocation of 1640 Canon 13. much the same, when they declare that no Excommunications shall be good or valid

much the same, when they declare that no Excommunications shall be good or valid in Law, unless pronounc'd by a Priest? since that is nothing less than repealing the 37 H. 8. c. 17. and those other Laws which empower Laymen to instit all Ecclesiastical Censures, and is a direct striking at the Regal Supremacy. For how can the King be the Supreme Judg in Appeals from the Bishops, if the Goodness and Validity of his Sentence must be owing to a Bishop,

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Bishop, or a Presbyter acting by his Authority? And is not this making all Causes relating to Wills, Administration of personal Estates, Marriages, &c. to belong to the Clergy by Divine Right? for it wou'd be absurd to suppose they had a Power from God to punish in Causes of which they cou'd take no judicial Cognizance, unless authorized by the Civil Powers. And tho'tis plain enough what some of these Men aim at who continue, as well as those who begun this Practice; yet it will not do their business, because to order Clergymen to pronounce the Judgments made by Laymen (as all the Judges of the Archbishops and most of the Judges of the Bishops Courts are now, and from the time of the Reformation have been so) is imposing on 'em a Servitude, and not vesting em with Power; their Acts being purely ministerial, in declaring what Laymen have adjudg'd, and in the manner they prescribe.

If, as the Clergy wou'd have us believe, the Effects of their Excommunications are so very terrible, what can be more unaccountable than that for a Groat, or suppose a Shilling, they shou'd be ready to pronounce any Sentence the Lay Judg pleases to decree; without knowing any more of the Cause than of the Law? Giving Men thus blindly to the Devil, is an extraordinary piece of Complaisance to

a Lay-Chancellor. But.

If for any to maintain, on any pretence whatever, any Independent coactive Power, either Papal or Popular, whether directly or indirectly, is, as the first of the Canons made in 1640. affirms, to undermine the great Royal Office of Kings, and cunningly to overthrow that Sacred Ordinance which God himself has establish'd, and so is treafonable against God as well as the King : If their Reasoning, I say, be good, will it not as well hold against other Ecclestafticks as the Pope, if they claim an Independent coactive Power? Nor will leaving out the word Coactive make any difference, because without Coaction there can be nothing more than Advice: and whether the 13th Canon does not at least indirectly aim at an Independent Power, the Reader may judg.

25. During those Reigns, when what the People had Suffer'd by the Independent Power of the Popish Clergy was fresh in their minds, they did all that was possible to guard against any Such Power for the future; and the Clergy minding Religion more than their private Interest, disown'd all Pretences to that Power: but after this, when they imagin'd the Court had a Design on the Liberty of the People, they thought

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their coming in to that Project with all their Force, might deserve to have their setting up for an Independent Power conniv'd at, if not encourag'd; which came to that height in Charles I's time, that the Bishops openly deny'd the receiving of their Jurisdiction from the Grown, and that even when they sat in the King's High-Commission Court: a short Account of which I shall recite from Whitlock's P. 21, 22. Memoirs.

During Prynn's Imprisonment, Dr. Bastwick a Physician was brought into the High-Commission Court for his Book call'd Elenchus Papismi & Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium, in answer to one Short a Papist, who maintain'd the Pope's Supremacy, the Mass and Popery: and Bastwick's Epistle to his Book declar'd that he intended nothing against our Bishops, but against those at Rome.

Tet this Defendant was sentenc'd by the Court in a Thousand Pounds Fine, to be excommunicated, debar'd his Practice of Physick, his Books to be burnt, and he imprison'd till he made a Recantation: and this was for maintaining the King's Prerogative against Papacy, as the Doctor

pleaded.

But on the other part, one who was a fierce Papist, nam'd Chowney, wrote a Book in defence of the Romish Religion and

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and of the Church of Rome, averring it to be a true Church, and the Book was Dedicated to and Patroniz'd by the Archbishop; so far was Chowney from being punish'd and question'd for this Doctrine.

In the Censure of Bastwick all the

Bishops then present deny'd openly that they had their Jurisdiction as Bishops from the King, for which perhaps they might have been censur'd themselves in King Henry

II. and King Edward III's Times.

But they affirm'd, they had their Jurisdiction from God alone: which Denial of the Supremacy of the King under God. King Harry VIII. wou'd have taken very ill, and it may be wou'd have confuted them by his Kingly Arguments & Regia manu. But these Bishops publickly disavow'd their Dependence on the King. And the Archbishop maintain'd the Book of Chowney, and that the Romish Church was a true Church, and err'd not in Fundamentals. Thus far Whitlock.

This Archbishop Laud was forc'd to affirm of that Church, in order to derive from thence that Popish Independent Power he was setting up here. And nothing is more Jesuitical than what at his Trial he

ABpLand's faith in defence of this, and for expung-Trial, pub-ing out of Books all Passages which call or lished by intimate the Pope to be Antichrist; not Prynn, that he was, to do him justice, for adp. 551.

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vancing the Power of the Pope, or car'd for the Romish Religion more than for any other. And this was necessary for him to affert, in order to derive from thence that Independent Power which he and his Adherents were setting up in defiance of the Laws of the Land, the Oath of Supremacy, the Principles of the Reformation, and of the Church he pretended so much Zeal for. But his whole Design was to advance the Ecclesiastical Power above the Law of the Land (one of the Articles on Rushw.vol. which he was impeach'd) and therefore 2. p. 818, while he was aiming at a Papal Power, affecting to be call'd His Holiness and Most Heylin's Holy Father, as the University of Ox. Life of Land, pl ford in many of their Letters and Ad-297. dresses stil'd him, 'tis no wonder if he were no Friend to the Pope's Supremary or Infallibility. But for the other Popish Doca trines which serv'd to set up an English Popery, we need go no further than his Life written by his own Chaplain Dr. Heylin, to see how ready he was to favour all who promoted 'em, and how severely he treated those who oppos'd 'em: and the Books of the rankest Papists on these prynn's Doctrines were either licens'd by his Chap-Hift. of lains, or approved by himself; and not ABpLaud's only new Books against Popery were hin. Trial, p. der'd from being publish'd, or call'd in, and ABP's and Passages against Popery deleted in Desence, others, P. 513:

others, but those which had been formerly licens'd by Authority, as Bishop Jewel, Dr. Willet, Fox's Acts and Monuments, &c. not suffer'd to be reprinted. Nay his Zeal was so great in this matter, that Rushw.vol.he was petition'd against by the Printers 1. p.655. and Booksellers, even while Bp of London, for restraining Books written against Popery; and they complain'd that divers of em were in the hands of Pursivants for printing against Popery, and that the Books against it were not allow'd by him or his Chaplains, who had the sole licensing of Books. And he not only concern'd himfelf in those Parts of Popery which directly advance Priestcraft, but even with Popish See his De-Images and Pictures, causing that of the fince in Trinity, where God the Father was drawn Prynn, p. like a little Old Man, to be painted afresh 453. HisIntrod. at his Chappel at Lambeth. Dr. Heylin ABp's Life. owns, that many Churchmen then held the Real and Corporal Presence of the Natural Body of Christ in the Eucharist: and what Rushin.vol. Laud's own Opinion was, may be ga-2. p. 285 ther'd from his Reasons for bowing to the 3b. p. 385. Altar, the Form of the Sacrament in the Scotch Liturgy, and his Behaviour in receiving the Sacrament when he consecrated P. 77. Church of St. Andrews. Thefe. things, together with the pompous Theatrical Worship, and Ceremonys tending to create a Superstitious Veneration for the

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Priefts,

Priests, which he labour'd to introduce, made him the Darling of the Papists, except in the point of that Independent Prynn, particle proper he set up for himself, which they 402, &co distik'd, because it interfer'd with the Pope's Supremacy. And 'tis well if these are not the Reasons why some who pretend to be Protestants have so great a Venera-

tion for him.

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Adherents were the Persons who, contrary to the Bent of the Nation, incourag'd, abetted, and promoted an Independent Power in the Clergy of the National Church, 'twill not be impertinent to mention what Opinion the great Lord Falkland (whose Zeal for the Church was no more question'd than his Abilitys to defend it, and in whose Praise a late Noble Historian spends three Pages and a half) had of these Men, whose Speech in Parliament Feb. 9. 1640. will give us the best account of it.

"Mr. Speaker, He is a great Stranger Rushw.vol. in Israel, who knows not that this King-4. p. 1845

" dom hath long labour'd under many and

" Great Oppressions, both in Religion and Liberty; and his Acquaintance here is

" not great, or his Ingenuity less, who

does not know and acknowledg, that a great; if not a principal Cause of both

these, hath been some Bishops and their

"Adherents. E 2 " Mrs

The Preface. " Mr. Speaker, a little search will serve " to find them to have been the Destruction " of Unity under pretence of Unifor-" mity, to have brought in Superstition " and Scandal under the Titles of Reve-" rence and Decency, to have defil'd our " Church by adorning our Churches, to " have flacken'd the Strictness of that " Union which was formerly betwist us " and those of our Religion beyond the Sea; " an Action as unpolitick as ungodly. " As Sir Thomas Moor Says of the " Casuists, their Business was not to keep " Men from sinning, but to inform them " quam prope ad peccatum fine peccato " liceat accedere: So it seem'd their " Work (meaning the Prelates) was to " try how much of a Papist might be brought in without Popery, and to de-" stroy as much as they could of the Gof. " pel, without bringing themselves into " danger of being destroy'd by Law. " Mr. Speaker, to go yet farther, " some of them have so industriously la-" bour'd to deduce themselves from Rome,

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"Mr. Speaker, to go yet farther, fome of them have so industriously labour'd to deduce themselves from Rome, that they have given great suspicion, that in gratitude they desire to return thither, or at least to meet it half way:
Some have evidently labour'd to bring in an English, tho not a Roman Popery; I mean not the Outside of it only and Dress of it, but equally absolute,

a blind Obedience of the People upon

the Clergy, and of the Clergy upon them-

le sea, that they might settle one be-

" youd the Water. Nay, common Fame is

more than ordinarily false, if none of

them have found a way to reconcile the Opinions of Rome to the Preferments of

"England, and to be so absolutely, directly,

" and cordially Papists, that it is all 1500 1.

" per Ann. can do to keep them from

" confessing it.

Which last Words Bp Goodman, Dr. Baily, Dr. Goff, Dr. Vane, &c. confirm'd by declaring for the Roman, when they despair'd of establishing an English

Popery.

27. Any Notion which is for the Interest of the Ecclesiasticks, if once suffer'd to take root, will quickly grow and spread. As we find this of an Empire within an Empire did in Ch. 2's time; for upon the Restoration it soon became an establish'd Principle with High-Ghurch, that there were two Independent Governments in the same Nation, and that the Government of the Church was by Divine Right in the Bishops: and the Lower House of Convocation not long since was for having the Bishops acknowledg'd to be not only of Divine, but Divine Apostolical Right:

which must mean either a Divine Divine

Right, or a Divine Human Right.

28. In my small Reading I have met with no Clergyman since the Restoration, I mean when he has not been writing professedly against the Pope's or for the King's Supremacy, who does not maint ain an Empire within an Empire, except Dr. Stillingfleet, who in his Irenicum affirms,

B. 1. C. 2. " That the Clergy have no Legislative Power, p. 45, 46,66 and that there is no Law of God which 47, 48.

" lodges a Power in the Officers of the

" Church to bind mens Consciences to their

" Determinations. And if the Magi-

" strate has not the sole Power to oblige,

" we must inevitably run into these Ab-

" furditys: First, That there are two Su-" preme Powers in a Nation at the same

" time. Secondly, That a Man may lie under two different Obligations as to

" the same thing. And to prove the Magistrate's Power sufficient for all Church-matters, he quotes Peter Martyr

in these words: Nam quod ad Potestatem

Ecclesiasticam attinet, satis est Civilis Magistratus; is enim curare debet ut

omnes Officium facient. But his Ap-

pendix, which came not out till the Second

Edition, runs counter to this; and the whole Design of it is to maintain that Doc-

trine of two Independent Powers which he bed so much exploded in the Book: and

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there he tells us he knows no Incongruity, App. 5.16. in admitting an Imperium in Imperio, and that the Magistrate's Power is cu-Ibid. Sult. mulative, not privative. And he is fo far from thinking the Magistrate's Power sufficient for Church-matters, as he wou'd have us believe in the Book, that he asks, "What is to be done in many Offences §. 16. " known to be against the Laws of Christ. " and which tend to the Dishonour of the " Christian Society, which the Givil or " the Municipal Laws either do not or " may not take cognizance of? and fays, " That tho the Offences against these two " Societys are for the most part the same, " yet the Consideration of 'em is different " in the Church and Commonwealth. But if the different Consideration of things

makes different Jurisdictions, there's nothing which the Clergy, all things being in some sense or other Spiritual, may not pre-

tend to judg of.

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29. And as to the Enacting Power of the Clergy, and how far they wou'd extend it, none is more proper to be quoted than a Bishop of the Church (especially when he wou'd be thought to speak the Sense of the Clergy) in his Preface to the Articles, Ca-

nons, &c. collected by him.

He says, " If the Sense of Faith and Bp Spar-"Holy Scripture is call'd in question, the row's Pref. " Church may and must declare what of Articl. ce that oc.

## The Preface.

" that Sense is she has received from " Christ and his Apostles, commanding " under Penaltys and Censures all her " Children to receive that Sense, and to "profess it in such expressive Words and " Form as may directly determine the " Doubt .- And in Controversys about " Doctrines, where she has received no " such clear Determination from Christ and his Apostles, she has Power to de-" clare her own Sense in the Controversy, " and to determine which Part shall be " receiv'd and profess'd for Truth for " her Members, and that under Eccle-6 siastical Censures and Penaltys. The Sentence shall bind to Submission, tho " the Superiors may err in the Sentence: better that Inferiors be bound to stand " to such fallible Judgment, than that " every Man be suffer'd to interpret Laws " and determine Controversys. And this Power he allows not only to General, but to Particular Councils. As the Church of Rome can't carry

As the Church of Rome can't carry ablind Submission further than this Right Reverend Father, so I think there was then none that oppos'd him, or rather, who did not assert the same thing.

30. The Expression which the Clergy us'd, when they pray'd for the King before their Sermons, viz. That he is next and immediately to God and Christ Supreme

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Supreme Moderator and Governor, in all Causes, and over all Persons, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, shews that when this Form was first contrived they thought no Ecclesiastical Causes exempt from his Jurisdiction. Tet has not this Form been dropt by degrees, and is it not now quite omitted? For which can there be any other reason, than that they think there's another Supreme Governour for Ecclesiastical Causes? And while Men believe this, it had been gross Hypocriss for 'em to have continu'd the old Form of Prayer. But,

31. The Parliament having, without any regard to these Notions, exercis'd their Power in Spirituals by depriving the Nonjuring Bishops; and the Sees being by the King's Authority fill'd again, it has caus'd a Schism in High-Church: and they who adhere to the Bishops depriv'd by Parliament, condemn those who do not, as acting contrary to their common Prinsiple of Church and State being under a distinct Government. Which Principle the others on the contrary are so far from disowning, that they endeavour to reconcile it with their deserting the Bishops depriv'd by the Lay-Powers; and thereby betray, as I shall shew in the following Treatise, their Cause instead of defending

it, and expose themselves to the Scorn and Contempt of their Adversarys. But,

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It being the Design of this Discourse to justify the Establish'd Church against all her Enemys, no Man can condemn me for endeavouring to confute those Notions by which such as call themselves the true Church of England, attempt to prove the present Church guilty of Schism and Herefy; unless he had rather have the Church thought Schismatical and Heretical, than their Notions shown to be false, who upon the Principle of two Independent Governments in the same Society, raise all those Engines with which they batter the Church. And were this Principle as incontestable as both sides admit, the Author

P. 11, 12, of the Regale and Pontificate wou'd be in the right in Saying, " That for Kings

" to have the Nomination of the Bishops, " is a betraying of their Trust in the Bi-

" Shops, whom Christ has left the Gover-

" nors of the Church; and in making it every whit as reasonable, "that the Church

6 (bou'd have the Nomination and Depo-" fing of Kings, and that no Parliament

" shou'd meet or transact any thing rela-ting to the Civil Government of the

" Nation, without Licence obtain'd from " the Bishops, nor enact any thing but in

" the Bishops Name and by their Autho-

" rity, as that the State shou'd have this

Power

Power with relation to the Church. Ei-" ther of these Cases is, as he says, a Dissolu-" tion of the one Power, and giving it up to " the other: and where the Choice of the "Governors of one Society is in the hands of another Society, that Society must be " dependent and subject to the other. So " if the Power of the Church extends to " the making Laws for the State in Tem-" porals, or if the State makes Daws " binding the Church relating to Spiriutuals, then is that Society intirely Sub-" jest to the other: and if one Society " can't meet or convene together without " the Licence of the other Society, nor " treat or enact any thing relating to their " own Society without the Leave and Au-" thority of the other, then is that So-" ciety in a manner dissolv'd, and subject " precariously to the mere Will and Plea-" sure of the other. And he supposes there is more to be said on the Church's P. 20, 25 side for her having the Choice of the King in her hand, on pretence of Security to the Church, than for the King to have the Nomination of the Bishops of the Church; " because the King at his Coro-" nation surrenders his Crown, Scepter and " Sword on the Altar, and receives 'em " thence again by the Hands of the Bishops " as the Ministers of Christ, and repre-" Senting his Person. And he supposes

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the Erastian Principle (the denying two Independent Powers) has turn'd the Gentry Deifts, and the Common People Dissenters; and talks of Deists in Committees of Religion. And as he makes the Regale owing to Herefy in other places, so he says, " 'tis the Effect of Popery in " England; and that all Governments 128-132. " being absolute and uncontrolable, the "Church can no more limit it self than " the Parliament; and that she is not " limited by any thing she has done past " the power of recalling; and that it was " the Premunire that Squeez'd out the " Submission of the Clergy, 25 H. 8. " & sic de cæteris: and that it is an Im-" possibility and a Contradiction for any Kingdom or State to have Authority " over the Church within their Domi-" nions in Ecclesiastical Matters; and "that the Consequence of this must be to " root up all Religion from off the face " of the Earth. And the Reason he gives why it was so hard to keep our Kings from running over to Popery, notwithstanding the Deposing Doctrine, was, P.132,133" That they wou'd rather submit them-" selves, tho with the hazard of their " Crowns, to a foreign Bishop, who as-" serted a Superiority over 'em both in " Spirituals and Temporals, than to have " no Bishop at all to be subject unto even

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in Spirituals, which is indeed to be " quite out of the Church; and that ma-" ny in the Church of Rome, for fear " of falling into the Regale Erastianism, P. 162. " dare not push on a Reformation; and " that the Western Church, like its Mas-" ter, was crucify'd between the Usurpa-" tion of the Pontificate on one side and " the Regale on the other. Popes and " Kings are equal Enemys to Episcopacy: P. 112. " all the Choice left to it was, who shou'd P. 118. " be its Executioner. And if the French " keep as clear of the Regale, their Re-P.265. " formation will exceed ours, which God Edit. 2. grant; and let 'em not take it ill that " we warn 'em of the Rock on which " we are split; Erastianism having run lb. p. 230: " down like a Torrent from the Reforma-" tion, and the Regale being made, tho " very unjustly, the Characteristick a-" gainst Popery and Fanaticism. And he condemns Charles I. for keeping the Elec. tion of Bishops in Scotland to himself, yet Says, He made great amends after- 1b. p.131. wards; he fet himself for the Rescue of the Church from the Encroachments of the Secular Courts and Erastian Laws, which was made a Handle by defigning Men to stir up the Rebellion against him; and he is justly enrol'd among the Noble Army of Martyrs. To make the People fight for the Laws, and

and the Prince (who has no Power but according to Law, which he has sworn to defend) endeavour to destroy 'em, is not the likelieft way to make one a Martyr and the other Rebels; tho it shews what these High-flown Blades wou'd put Kings upon, if they had Power. And tho nothing now is so common as to call the opposing of the Doctrine of two Independent Powers the Erastian Heresy, yet 'tis plain by the Letters annext to Eraftus's Treatise of Excommunication, that the ablest of the Reformers abroad were in his Sentiments; and Selden de that here, as Mr. Selden says, some of Syned. l.i. the greatest among the Clergy, and who c. 10. p. had the chief hand in managing the publick Affairs, prevail'd upon Erastus's Widow, or her Husband Castelvetro, to let them have the Copy of that Book, and by their direction and encouragement it was first printed at London, in 1589. and that in the Acts of the Stationers Company 'tis register'd, that Chomas Wolf entred for his Copy a Treatife of Thomas Erastus, de Excommunicatione, reported by 99. Fortescue to be allow'd by the Archbishop of Canter-And Mr. Selden further says, that there is reason to believe that the

Archbishop had singular regard to the pub-

lishing this Book; and that not only he,

but Several other Learned and Pious Men,

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whom England did then abound with, and who were very frequently with the Archbishop, did with great Zeal encourage the publishing it, as what was very agreeable to the Practice then in use (and in full opposition to the Presbyterian, or any other Jurisdiction, under the name of Eccles fiastical, which was not manag'd according to the Rules of the English Constitution, that is, according to a purely Human Law) and serv'd to justify the Regal Supremacy which for a long time had obtain'd here. He ands, That he had seen in the Lambeth Library this Book finely gilt, with these Words written in a spare Leaf, Intus quam extra formosior, which he supposes was presented to the Archbishop by the Publisher. And the it is very likely this was wrote by the Archbishop himself (for who should presume to write in his Book?) yet I own my felf mistaken in quoting Mr. Selden, as I did in the first Edition, for saying it was writ by the Archbishop himself; and therefore I freely retract that, as I shall any thing I have said, as soon as I am convinc'd it is a Mistake, tho it should not chance to be, as this is, purely incidental. And I beg leave to say, that notwithstanding this, the Archbishop's Approbation of this Book plainly appears, which was the end for which I cited Mr. Selden.

32. But

## The Preface.

32. But to return, so high does the Author of the Regale, &c. carry the Authority of the meanest Ecclesiasticks, that he will allow no Layman more than P. 194. one Chaplain, because no Man can serve 13 H. 8. two Masters; tho our Law, which is to C. 28. determine mens Condition, calls the Patrons of Chaplains their Masters. And he will not allow it proper for a Layman to Say my Chaplain, otherwise than as he P. 182. Ed. 2. Says my King or my God; and be makes it one of our modern Improvements, that Dukes and Dutchesses, who only have 1b. p. 221. Patents of Honour from an earthly King, (bou'd be more estimable and of higher Dignity than those that have Christ's Commission: " For in our Forefathers "Time, and in all Countrys and Ages, the Mitre stood next to the Crown, " even in the Civil Constitution; and " that not only on the Head of one Arch; 6 but of every Bishop. And he says, "That the Office ascrib'd to Kings and P. 26. " Queens by the 49th of Isaiah, was an " Office of Servitude, and not of Autho-" rity: and that a King is only the " Church's Foster-Father, that is, a Nurse's Husband, whose Office 'tis to carry the Child in his Arms or on his Shoulders, when there is occasion to travel, &c. But as for the People, the best Epi-P. 201, thet is that of Beasts, which he is so fond of,

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of, that he repeats it in another Discourse, Dissertat. which I think is the only Mark of Inge-Eccl. Hist. nuity in his Books; since 'tis fit that he before who is for using 'em as Beast's of Burden, Parker's Abridgshou'd let 'em know what they are to trust ment of to. And as for the Clergy, he wou'd Enjeb. have'em be twenty times more than they are, some of whom are to be employ'd in Essay conc. Parliament, in Council, and the other Right of great Affairs of the Nation, and those Tithes, p. of lower Rank as Justices of the Peace 232, 233. and other Officers for the Distribution of Justice. And as he complains our Kings exact the Tribute due to the Chief Pastor, First Fruits and Tenths; Regale, p. so he affirms, the Bishop, as having no 171. Superior, being the immediate Represen-Essay of tative of Christ, is not under the Tithe Tithes, p. of Worship, for it must end somewhere. And as he arraigns the Lay-Impropriators as guilty of Sacrilege, so he says, There lies a heavy Curse on this Nation, P. 227. which can't be remov'd without Restitution of what we have rob'd from God: and as an Instance of God's Judgments, he fays, so much has the Crown P. 160. gain'd by the Accession of Sacrilegious Wealth, as from Imperial Dignity, and a Propriety paramount in all the Lands of England, to become an Honourable Beggar for its daily Bread. This Reflection is not strange from one who says,

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Different that the scandalous and sacrilegious Imconc. Eccl. propriations of Tithes made by the Popes, were worse diverted by those who shou'd have restor'd 'em.

In his Preface to the Regale, he says, P. 21. " The Secular Spirit which the Principles " of Erastianism have begot in the Cler-"gy, must be exorcis'd, and their poor " Fear of Temporal Powers. They must "be brought to believe at last that God " is stronger than the Devil, and Christ " than all the Kings on Earth (a rare Picture of the Clergy indeed, if at present they do not believe it.) And he bids 'em, not to glare on Legal Establishment, " but to affert their Divine Right in full

P. 28. "Tail; leave not an Hoof of 'em be-" hind who dare oppose what they acknow-" ledg to be Divine. And upon supposition that the Act of Submission forbids the Bishops to censure Books without Li-

P. 31, 32 cence of the King, he Says, "Here's a " Picture of the Regale wou'd put a " Man in doubt of his Christianity, and " that he has not been a Christian or has "forgot it, who wou'd have the least hefitation or scruple to damn the Act, if
taken in this sense, to the place from

" whence it came, if there were ten thousand

" other Acts of Parliament pin'd to the " back of it. If any of the Shepherds

" have pleaded for the Act of Submission

been the receiv'd Sense ever since the making of it) "they have undermin'd their own Foundation; and till they return, and make Restitution all that is in their power, they have not come up to the Repentance of Judas; and I shou'd be afraid to share their Sin, if I lean'd not with my whole strength upon this main Pillar of the Temple of Da-

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Let me ask this Sampson, whether he wou'd renounce any of his Opinions, shou'd the Bishops in Convocation condemn 'em? And if he wou'd not, why wou'd he have others so little Protestants as to pin their Faith on the Determination of a Convocation, or be influenc'd further by 'em than they cou'd give reason for what they say? And what can be more hypocritical than thus in his Preface to make the Power of these Bishops in censuring Books so necessary for Religion, when the Design of the Book it self is to make 'em guilty of Schism, nay of Heresy? which, he says, according to the antient Notion of it, is any Separation made on any Princi-P. 79. ple. And as he continues to rail against the Act of Submission, which he calls a poor one; so he says, "Have we not p. 32, 33. " shaken off Popery yet? Are our Bishops " still bound by their Submissions? Cou'd " they

P. 23.

P. 11.

they give away the Right of their Succeffors, the Protestant Bishops? Let the Lawyers therefore look to it; let

them (the Bishops) try whether any

" Judg in Westminster-Hall will hold up
" an Act of Parliament against the Gos-

pel. None of our Divines dare oppose it (viz. the Independency) without at

the same time confessing to it. The Truth is grown flagrant, none dare

Truth is grown flagrant, none dare oppose it barefac'd; so that if he is Judg,

they who oppose it must act (as he intimates the Clergy who took the Oaths did)

out of an Hypocritical Compliance.

33. I had not so long insisted on what this Author says in opposition to the Church established by Law, if he had not been in so great vogue with High-Church, in whose defence he weekly engages, and has received larger Contributions from one of the Universitys than any single Person besides Trusty Sir Roger; and because too many of the young Gentlemen there are poison'd with these most pernicious Principles, which they look on as unanswerable, and so wou'd every one else who only considers how little has been said against 'em.

Church of The Profound Mr. Dodwel calls the Church of Oath of Supremacy, as explain'd by the the Indep. 37 H. 8. an 'extravagant and impious of the Notion; and admires that such a Beckery, S. trayer of Esclesiastical Rights as Cranmer

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shou'd by our Ecclesiastical Historian of the Reformation be propos'd as an exemplary Hero: and that the 'licentious Principles' S. 17. he instil'd into King Edward were destructive of all Religion, and the very Fundamentals of the Church: but what he is most provok'd at is, that this most glorious Reformer and Martyr Supposes the Ceremonys of Consecration indifferent things, and that there's no more Promise of God (for so Cranmer expresses it) that Grace is given in committing the Ecclesiastical, than in committing the Civil Office. Mr. Dodwel supposes the Su-5.24. premacy was chang'd in Queen Elizabeth's Time, notwithstanding the Oath of Supremacy was enjoin'd for the better Observation of I Eliz. in which the 37 H. 8. and the other Acts relating to the Regal Supremacy were reviv'd, and consequently became a Part thereof; because the 5 Eliz. C. I. declares, "That the Oath of Su-" premacy shall be taken and expounded in " such Form as is set forth in her Majesty's Admonition; that is to say, to confess and acknowledg in her Majesty. " her Heirs and Successors, none other " than that was challeng'd and lately us'd " by the Noble Kings H. 8. and Edw. 6. " as in the said Admonition more plainly " may appear. Upon which Admonition our Learned Author thus gravely descants;

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## The Preface.

5. 20. " I am apt to think that the Queen's " comparing the Supremacy assum'd by her

" felf with that which had been challeng'd 66 by her Father and Brother, does not

" so much imply that her Supremacy was

ce as bad as theirs, but that it was not

" worse. But,

34. Tis no wonder this Author rails fo much at the Principles of the Reformation, when he affirms, "that the Magistrate " rather loses than gains by his Conversion " to Christianity, because he is admitted into

" the Church on the Bishop's Terms, and

as a private Person, and bound to obey " Church Laws made by the Ecclesiasticks,

Vindic. of " and to submit to the Bishop as Head of " the Church, and Supreme unappealable Def. of Depr. Bps, " Judg in Spirituals, and therefore to p. 54, 57, Judg in Spirituals, and therefore to 58, 59.

abide his Sentence, which in some cases " may proceed to Excommunication;

"That every Bishop is Supreme in his

" District, and accountable to none but

Paranesis, " God: and that to judg of a Bishop or " his Act is the same as to presume to p. 196.

" judg of God or his Christ. Nay, he

Vindic. ut brings in Philo reasoning as if God himsup. S. 34. self were the Pupil of the Clergy: "That

" the Bishops are properly Priests of 4 5. 31, 37, " more noble Order than the Aaronical, and 48, 49.

" the Priesthood is anointed with an Unction

" much greater and holier than the Regal:

'And therefore'tis no wonder, he says, that

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that the Sacerdotal Office show'd be subif jest to the Regal. And these Powers of
the Bishop he wou'd have inserted in our Paran. p.
Catechisms. 'Tis no wonder a Man who 253reasons thus show'd charge the Church of
England, as he does in his Desence of the
Depriv'd Bps, with Heresy as well as Schism,
or suppose that the Magistrate had no Power
over Synods or Districts, as he does all along
in his Vindications of the Depriv'd Bishops.

One wou'd be apt to think that High Church, Woman-like, was pleas'd best with those who flatter most, and that nothing cou'd be too fulsom or too gross for her. For what other reason can be given why this Author was so much admir'd, nay almost idoliz'd by High-Church, than the extravagant Power he attributes to the Clergy, notwithstanding he has said such things as strike at the Fundamentals of Christianity? And what can be more so, than what he mentions in his Differtations on Ireneus? The Passage I Diff. 1. S. need not mention, considering it has made 38, 39. so great a noise, and is quoted in Latin as well as English in Amyntor; where, instead of shewing we have as good a Proof for the Divine Authority of Bishops as we have for that of Scripture, he endeavours to prove we have no better for the Scripture than for Bishops: and that

they may both be set on a level, he weakens the Authority of the New Testament, by pretending to shew, that the immediate Ages after our Saviour, and so successively down to Adrian's Time, did not distinguish between the genuine Books of the New Testament, and those which are spurious; nay, that till that time the Canonical Writings lay conceal'd in the Coffers of private Churches or Persons, and that if they had been publish'a, they would have been overwhelm'd under a multitude of Apocryphal and Supposititious Books; that a new Testimony wou'd be necessary to distinguish 'em from those which are false. Upon which the Author of Amyntor put this Query, That if the immediate Disciples of the Apostles cou'd so grosly confound the genuine Writings of their Masters with such as were fally attributed to 'em, and since they so very early were in the dark about these matters; how came such as follow'd 'em by a better Light? But the learned Mr. Dodwel, instead of answering this and such like Questions, publish'd a Piece to justify Musick in Churches; as tho when he destroy'd 'em for better Uses, he wou'd still employ'em as places to fiddle in. Nay, in his P.24-30. Parænesis lately publish'd, he affirms much the same, where tho he supposes, that till at least to An. 104. the Bishops of Jerusa-

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Iem were the Popes of Christendom, from whom all Ecclesiastical Power was deriv'd, and to whom all Churches were subject, and that tho there are not any Footsteps of the present Church-Discipline in Scripture; yet if we follow Reason, we shall, says he, P.54--57. be surer of this new Discipline establish'd, as he imagines, by a College of Apostles about An. 106. at Ephesus, than of the Canon it self. To which may be added, that tho the Truth of the Prophecys of the Old Testament are a great Proof for the Truth of the New Testament, being what Christ and his Apostles upon all occasions appeal to; yet he puts 'em on the same foot with the Divinations of the Heathen, and Says in his second Letter about going into Orders, "That Divination was originally " Heathenism, and that the Means the " Jews had of understanding their Pro-" phecys was according to the Principles of " the Heathen, to which they had been " inur'd; nay, that the Indulgence of "God in granting the Spirit of Prophecy " was plainly accommodated to the Practice " of the Heathen Divination. And he pretends to shew a Parity between'em, as " that the Jewish Prophecy by Dreams " answer'd the Heathen Divination per " Somnium; and that the Rules of the " Heathen for interpreting their Divina-" tions was the proper means for understanding

" standing the Prophecys, which would " have been for the most part unintelligi-

" ble without 'em; and that was such a

" fort of Learning as was solemnly stu-

" dy'd by the Jewish Candidates for Pro-" phecy. Nay he saith, 'tis manifest that the

De Jure "phecy. Nay he faith, 'tis manifest that the Laic. Sacer." Jews made use of Wine, among other P. 359. "bodily Helps, to obtain the Prophe-

"tick Spirit. And tho his old Admirers may be displeas'd with him for shewing in his late Epistolary Discourse how different the Theology of the Primitive Fathers is from that now in vogue, particularly as to the Natural Mortality of the Soul; yet no doubt they will forgive him for the great Power he bestows on the Bishops, in supposing that they, and they alone, can immortalize it to eternal Rewards; and that

Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, and even the Blessed Virgin her self, are now in slavery to the Devil, and may be reliev'd by the Prayers of the Living from their Disquietudes. A Doctrine which may be im-

provid to as good use as the Romish Purgatory.
35. Tis somewhat strange, that the the Lower House of Convocation, who thought themselves at liberty to censure Books without a Royal Licence, complained of several, yet none of the Jacobite Books which condemn the Church as guilty of

Schism and Heresy, were of the number: Nay,

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Nay, what notice was taken of a Bundle of Papers dedicated to the Prolocutor, and, as the Author says in the Postscript, printed tho not publish'd except for the Members of the Convocation, notwithstanding these Append.to Papers affert that the Oath of Supremacy is Rights of God's not an Oath of Fidelity to the King, but of Church on Unfaithfulness to the Church, and recom- Earth. mend Praying for the Dead, affirming we have as good Proof of that as of Several Books of Scripture, and pretend to shew the Necessity of retracting our mistaken Reformation, which they call the Cranmerian Herefy, and other opprobrious Names? Was not the Author tenderly us'd, when he was not so much as reproved for inscribing such a Libel to 'em? The Dedication of which was never renounc'd, nor any care taken to remove the Suspicion of any part of the House being concern'd in such a publick Scandal, tho the not doing it has been objected to 'em more than once in Print. Nay, was there any notice taken of the Author of the Case of the Regale, when he proposes P. 263. to 'em to enter into a Treaty with the Churches of France, in order to join Communion; and complains, that the English Convocation, not being fuffer'd to sit while that of France lasted, render'd any Treaty between 'em impracticable; and seems to promise, that as the Issue of that French Affembly exceeded Expectation, fo there

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there may be a time when by the Affistance of a Reconciling Body of Men, who are not against a Peace with France in this great Work, a most glorious Step may be made by that King whom God shall inspire to take his Regale out of the way from obstructing such mighty Ends as these proposed, by which he wou'd deferve the Title of most Christian, most Catholick, and wou'd be in good ear-

nest the Defender of the Faith?

36. I easily foresee it will be objected to me that I have been too long and too particular in my Preface, in describing what the profest Enemys of the Constitution of the Church affert, as well as answering in the Book the Arguments by which they endeavour to render her guilty of Schism and Heresy. To which I have nothing to plead, except the Zeal I have for the Church of England: 'tis that which makes me think nothing too long which any ways makes for her Defence, and that it may be seen whether they who concur with the Jacobites in those Principles by which they oppose the Church, or I who endeavour to confute them, are the best Churchmen. And that there are too many who pretend to be of the Church establish'd by Law, who talk much after the same rate, I mean as far as they durst without hazarding their Preferments, is too notorious a Truth to be deny'd,

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The Learned Author of the Municipium Ecclesiasticum, for instance, throout his whole Book, Supposes the Church in a state of Slavery, by reason of the Regal Supremacy; Speaking of which he Saith, P. 122.

" Can a Claim of an oppressive Supremacy

" be deem'd a glorious Jewel in a Christian

" Crown, which if exercis'd, must of ne-" cessity forfeit the King's Salvation?

" And is it not a dangerous Complaisance

" in Priests to plead for such an Ambi-" tion as may end in the Ruin of the

" Church, the Priesthood, and the Soul of

" the Prince? We only (viz. the Cler- P. 119.

" gy) are the poor, tame, dispirited, drowsy

" Body, that are in love with our own " Fetters: and this is the only scandalous

" Part of our Passive Obedience, to be

"not only silent, but content with an "Oc-n of our P-rs, which are

" not forfeitable to any worldly Powers

" whatever. And here by the way of Ridicute he says in the Margin, be sure to except the Church of England: and he calls Dr. Wake's justifying the King's Power over Ecclesiastical Synods an en-P.55.

flaving Hypothesis; and says, "'tis not

" possible to make any true and signal Con-P. 121.

" versions to the better, as long as there's " a common Slavery upon the Hierarchical

" Powers:

Preface in the Divine Right of Synods, will be the defence of utter Extirpation of all Religion out of the World, and therewith an Extirpation of the Priesthood. So that Religion seems to be instituted for the sake of the Priesthood, since the reason why the Extirpation of Religion is so much to be fear'd, is because it comes with the Loss of the Priesthood.

a Low Churchman says, "That what our Authority calls the Just Prerogative of the Crown, was no part of the Pre"rogative before the 25 of H. 8. and therefore is no essential Prerogative of the Crown, but adventitious by Act of Parliament; and by Act of Parliament, without any Hurt or Disherison of the Crown, may be taken away. And tis sufficiently known how the Church has groan'd under this Prerogative Act of the Letter Missive—even the best Churchmen ever since have complain'd of it as a mighty Grievance and Burden.

Eccl. Syn. Dr. Kennet thinks he can't expose his p. 85. Adversary (tho he carries the Independent Rights of Power of the Ecclesiasticks as high as any) the English more than to make him say, the Act of Convocat. Submission is no Grievance; of whom Eccl. Syn. he likewise complains, That he quotes not p.107,108.

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one Text for the Divine Right of Councils, he proposes no one Reason for the Necessity of such an inherent and original Power in the Church; he does not labour to prove that a Christian Magistrate can't retract, nor a National Clergy recede from antecedent Rights: and he adds (as if these two are inconsistent) he waves the Christian, and acts only

the Englishman.

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38. I must desire these Gentlemen, who rail against the Act of Submission as inconsistent with the Divine Right of Synods, to reconcile their Notion with the 12th of King James's Canons, which declares, That whosoever shall affirm that it's lawful for the Order either of Ministers or Laicks (for the Words are Ministrorum aut Laicorum Ordini) to make Canons, Decrees or Constitutions in Ecclesiastical Matters without the King's Authority, and to fubmit themselves to be govern'd by them, are ipso facto excommunicated, and not to be absolv'd before they have repented, and publickly renounc'd these Anabaptistical Errors. But this is not the only Canon, by a great many, which excommunicates the Claimers of Independency.

Tis strange that this Notion of an Independent Power in the Ecclesiasticks shou'd, in Opposition to the Sense of the first Re-

Reformers, and to all the best Lights of the Church afterwards, to the Practice of the Ecclefiastical Courts, to the Canons, Articles, Laws, and the very Oath of Supremacy, in a short time so prevail, that they whose Principles are nearer to the Church of Rome than to that of Eng. land, shou'd be represented as the only Churchmen ; while others, because of their unsbaken Zeal for the Church as by Lan establish'd, which they esteem the great Bulwark against all Ecclesiastical Tyranny, either Papal or Presbyterian, are represented as Enemys to it. And this is the true ground, whatever sham Reasons may be pretended, of the Hatred some Men have for the Whigs; while the Jacobites and Papists, the great Affertors of two Independent Powers, are cares'd: tho it be notorious that the Mark the Papists always have, and always will aim at, is the Destruction of the National Church, as being the most considerable for its Number, Quality, Power and Riches. And notwithstanding this, do not they and High-Church in all Elections join their Forces together? Have they not the same Friends and the same Enemys? And do they not concur in the same Designs? If there is any difference, it is that the latter are bitterer Enemys to their own Bisbops, whom they redicule for the hazard they ran in writing against

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against Popery: and how well they have obey'd their Bishops Orders, in giving 'em an account of the Papists within their Parishes, is worth the Reader's Enquiry. But to return.

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39. Nothing cou'd more shew her Majesty's Goodness and Tenderness, than bearing so long with so many repeated Affronts to her Ecclesiastical Authority. And it was highly necessary at last for her Majesty to declare, as she has now done, her Resolution to maintain her Supremacy, as a Her Maje-Fundamental Part of the Constitution sty's Letter of the Church of England as by Law Febr. 25. to the ABp establish'd. And 'tis not only the Duty, 170%. but the Interest of the Laity to assist her Majesty in defending the Church of England as by Law establish'd, and particularly the Regal Prerogative in Spiritual Matters. For shou'd the Clergy, by the Repeal of the 25th of H. 8. c. 19. (which some have so much labour'd at) come to act as independently as their Popish Predecessors, the Laity will quickly find themselves under as insupportable Tyranny as ever their Ancestors were, nay much greater, if some were to have their Wills, who look on several Privileges the Laity enjoy'd under Popery, by Agreement between Popes and Princes, as injurious to

the Divine Rights of the Clergy; and

therefore complain of their being crush'd

between

Municip. hetween the Upper and Nether Mill. Reg.p.112. Stones. And if, for instance, the King's Nominations to Bisbopricks be an Effect of Popery, will not Laymens Nominations to other Ecclesiastical Preferments be the same? And will not these Men so far Shew their Zeal against Popery, as to de-sire at least that this Effect of it h remov'd? Men might in the worst Times of Popery marry without the Consent of Ib. p. 3, 4. the Bishop, but now we are told that Mar.

riage ought not to be made without it; and to be sure this must be so, sinu there's a very antient Father, if the Author of the Regale does not misrepresent

him, who affirms it.

40. Because I shall in the following Discourse shew that an Independent Power in our own Ecclesiasticks must probably h more fatal than that which the Popes formerly exercis'd, I will now only add, that since the Laity must lose what the Clerg gain, it can't be an unnecessary Caution to 'em to be upon their guard; especial) since both Houses of the last Convocation agreed (and 'tis the only thing in which of late years they have agreed) in addressing the Queen, That whatever may be wanting to restore our Church to its due Rights and Privileges, her Majesty may have the Glory of doing, and se curing it to Posterity: which is in effet charging

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charging the Queen's Ancestors, at least from the Reformation, as well as her self (since she claims no Power in Ecclesiastical Matters which they did not enjoy) with detaining from 'em some of their Divine Rights and Privileges. In such a Charge as this they ought to have declar'd what those Rights and Privileges are, which the Church wants to be restor'd to. But,

As her Majesty has no Power in Ecclesiasticals except by the Laws of the Land, and can't divest her self of any part of it without Consent of Parliament; so both must be equally concern'd in this Charge, which amounts to no less than Sacrilege, in detaining from the Church some of those Rights and Privileges which she claims as given her by God. For what the Law allows, are not pretended to be wanting; and I hope things are not brought to that pass yet, that a Man shall run any bazard for endeavouring to vindicate the Queen and Parliament from so heavy a Charge. And the Clergy, who pretend o be so zealous for the Church, must, one wou'd think, be pleas'd to find that he Church, as wanting none of its due Rights and Privileges, is more perfect and compleat even than they represent t; at least they will not be angry with ne for thinking better of the Church han they do, especially since they lead me

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into this Opinion, by constantly reprefenting it as the most perfect, most compleat, and best constituted Church: whereas if the Government of it did belong to the Clergy by a Divine Right, as their Address seems to insinuate, it must be, as every one may discern, as to its Government and Discipline the worst constituted Church in the World.

41. And now I have nothing further to add, than to desire the Reader to take notice, that tho in the following Difcourse I use the word Clergy in general I wou'd not be understood to mean those who maintain the Principles of our Esta blish'd Church: But the Popish, East tern, Presbyterian, and Jacobite Clergy (who are infinitely the Majority) well as too many who pretend to be of the Church of England, falling into No tions inconsistent with our Legal Establish ment, I was oblig'd to make use of the Word generally, to avoid Circumlocution or perpetual Exceptions. And I likewil desire the Reader to take notice, that who I say such Powers, Privileges, &c. not belong to the Clergy, I do not men by the Law of the Land, but, as the Thred of the Discourse shows, by Divin Right.

I must likewise put the Reader in mind that the I endeavour to prove there w

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not two Independent Powers in the same Society, and that the Magistrate has all in Religious Matters which Man is capable of, I do not design to carry this Power so far as to make void the Principle on which the Reformation is built, viz. the Right every one has of judging for himself, and of acting according to his Judgment in all those things which relate only to God and his own Conscience: and if the Magistrate can't extend his Power to these things, 'tis not because it wou'd be usurping an Authority which belongs to an Independent Ecclesiastical Magistrate, but because they are those Natural Rights of Mankind which can't be made over to Prince or Priest. Which Rights, after I have once clear'd up in the Introduction, I need not afterwards nicely distinguish between those they can make over and those they cannot: or if I shou'd chance sometimes to use the words People, Sovereign, Representative, or Magistrate promiscuously, it cannot be material as to this Controversy, if I prove that the Clergy have no Power which is not deriv'd from one or other.

42. If any Member of the Church of England as by Law established thinks sit to write against me, I hope he will take care not to wound the Church thro my sides, but will justify those Laws relating

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to it which its Enemys condemn as Erastian, and which, they fay, render the Oath of Supremacy extravagant and impious; or at least, that in endeavouring to evade the true Sense of 'em, he will not use such Distinctions as must make all Laws, Divine and Human, useless and insignificant; or will not so interpret the Oath of Supremacy, as may make it confiftent with the Spiritual Authority the Pope claims over the Nation: For if the King's Power extends only to the Temporals annext to Spirituals, as all the Highfliers maintain, they may as well affirm, that the Pope's Supremacy in Temporals aunext to Spirituals, is only taken away; since the Words are no fuller in one Case than the other.

Pref. to Munic. If my Adversary writes, as the Author of the Municipium Ecclesiasticum declares he does, that the Publick may take occasion to review those Laws throwhich the Church is, as he saith, fallen under her present Impotency; all I desire of him is not to play the Hypocrite so far as to pretend he writes for the hurch established by Law, or to centure the for taking the same liberty in defending the Laws, which he does in opposite the said that he will explain those Monte which principally relate to this Controvers, as Occamation, Confecration,

tion, the Power of the Keys, of Binding and Loofing, of retaining and remitting Sins, the Giving the Holy Ghost, Excommunication, and suchlike: and that he will, unless when he declares the contrary, constantly apply the Same Ideas to 'em; but above all, that he will tell us in what sense he uses the word Church: for then it will appear whether what he or I write is most for the Benefit of the Church taken in the sense of the Scripture, in which it always fignifies the Christian People, sometimes with, and sometimes without their Ministers: whereas Divines, the contrary to the Articles, which define the Church to be a Congregation of the Faithful, have industriously labour'd to have it signify the Clergy, exclusively of the People, for no other reason that I can see, than to deprive 'em of those glorious Privileges and Powers which the Scripture declares to be their Right, and thereby to give designing Men a Pretext to insult and domineer over the Church. And as the misapplying of the word Church in the Popish Countrys, has given the Priests an opportunity to enslave the People; so others follow the Copy they have set 'em so exactly, that they never fail to represent any one who has the Courage to endeavour to refcue

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Tyranny, as an Enemy to the Church, even from those Texts which make for the Authority of the People over their Ministers. And when these Clergymen assume that venerable Name to themselves, nothing can be too great and glorious for Them, or too mean and fervile for the People; then Kings and Reg. p. 26. Queens must bow down to them, with their Face towards the Earth. and lick up the Dust of their Feet. To say this of themselves under the Name of the Church, when they wou'd not venture to say it under any other, is errant Priestcraft, and as ridiculous as if the Drummers and Trumpeters (bou'd call themselves the Army exclufive of all others, and by means of that endeavour to get the whole Power of it

Now 'tis more than time to conclude the Preface, wishing the Reader so kind to himself as well as the Author, as to examine this Discourse, for the sake of the Importance of the Subject, without Prejudice or Partiality. And tho I can't be so little a Protestant as to say, according to the usual Cant, I submit all to Mother Church; yet, as the Part I take in this Con-

into their hands, and represent every one as an Enemy to the Army, who will not

Controversy demonstrates I cou'd have no Design but the promoting of Truth, so if any shall convince me of a Mistake, tho in doing it he treats me ever so roughly, I shall be proud of giving an uncommon Mark of Love to Truth, in publickly owning and retracting my Error.

If I have any Adversary who has so much Charity as to shew in print where I am in an Error, I desire he will make use of this Edition, as being more correct.

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### CONTENTS.

THE Introduction.

Page 1.

Ch

Ch

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Chap. 1. That there cannot be two Independent Powers in the same Society.

Chap. 2. That the Spiritualitys which Clergymen claim, are either such as are peculiar to the Divine Nature, or else were only bestow'd on the Apostles: And that both these serve em as a Pretence for invading the Rights of the People, and of their Representa-

Chap. 3. That the Clergy's pretending to have a Right to exclude People from the Church of Christ, is as absurd, as their claiming a Power to debar 'em from the publick Worship is uncharitable: And that this Custom was borrow'd from the Heathen Priests, particularly the Druids. Of the Advan-

tages

chap. 4. That 'tis inconsistent with the Reason, Design and End of Ecclesiastical Discipline, that there shou'd be any particular Immutable Form of it, or any Set of Persons with an Unalterable Right to manage it: but that Men are oblig'd, according to the Circumstances they are under, to alter and vary all things relating to it, as they judg most conducing to the End for which that was instituted.

Chap. 5. The Clergy's indeavouring at an Independent Power, not only prevents the further spreading of the Gospel, but is the cause of its having already lost so much ground.

Chap. 6. That the Clergy's claiming an Independent Power, is of all things the most destructive to the Interest of Religion, and is the Cause of those Corruptions under which Christianity labours.

:

5

Chap. 7. That this Hypothesis of an Independent Power in any Set of Clergymen, makes all Reformation unlawful, except where they who are supposed to have this Power, do consent. 232.

Chap. 8. That the Clergy's pretending to an Independent Power has been the Occasion of infinite Mischief to the Christian World, and is utterly inconsistent with the

#### The Contents.

the Happiness of Human Societys. 244. Chap. 9. That this Hypothesis of none being capable of governing the Church except Bishops, and that none can be Bishops except those who derive their Power by a continu'd and uninterrupted Succession in the Catholick Church from the Apostles, destroys the very Being of the Church.

Chap. 10. That the Catholick Church consists of several Bodys independent on each other; and that none of these have Power to make Clergymen except for themselves; and that the contrary Opinion necessarily supposes a Universal Bishop or Pope. 378.

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### The Introduction.

T can't be deny'd by those who have examin'd into either the past or present Condition of Human Societys, that the Grievances and Miserysthey labour under are chiefly, if not wholly owing to the Abuse of Power, by their Governors either extending it to such things as they were not, or cou'd not be intrusted with; or else imploying it, tho in things belonging to their Cognizance, contrary to the End for which they were entrusted: and that Christians, besides having their Share in these common Calamitys, have been miferably harafs'd by a new Pretence of two Independent Powers in the same Society. A Doctrine which has not only occasion'd a prodigious number of Quarrels between Princes and Priests,

but the Clergy themselves have been infinitely embroil'd with one another about it; History being full of their Contentions on this head. And at this very day the Clergy, not to mention many other Disputes, are so little agreed in whom the Independent Power in Ecclesiasticals is lodg'd; that the Pope, the Bishops, the Presbyters, each claim it to themselves exclusively of others, as well as of the Church or Christian People; for so that Word in Scripture, as I shall prove hereafter, always signifies.

2. The Design of this Discourse is first briefly to shew what things the Magistrate's Power extends to (and by the Magistrate I mean Him or Them who have the Supreme or Legislative Power) and in what things Men are still in a State of Liberty or Nature, subject only to God and their own Consciences: and then to examine all the Arguments from Reason and Scripture which are supposed to make for an Independent Power in the Clergy.

3. It being agreed on all hands, that the Scripture neither adds to, or takes from the Governors of Mankind any Power; and that there's no Divine Commission which parcels the Earth into particular Governments, or any Family or Person that has an immediate Commission from Heaven to rule the Whole or any Part of it; consequently all the Power the Magistrate can claim must be only Mediately from God, but Immediately from the People: and therefore to know

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the utmost Extent of his Jurisdiction, 'twill be necessary to see what Power Men had over themselves or one another, since they cou'd not grant more than they had

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4. The better to make this Inquiry, it will be proper to fee whether Men, before Agreements and Compacts make any Alteration, are not in a State of Equality. And nothing, I think, can be more evident, than that between Creatures of the fame Kind, promiscuously born to all the fame Advantages, and the use of the fame Faculties, there must be an Equality; that is, none can have any more Power over another, than another has over him. Children, 'tis true, are not in a full State of Equality, tho born to it; for till they come to the Use of their Reason, they ire to be govern'd by the Reason of their Parents, who if they lose the Use of their own Reason, are as much to be rul'd by That of their Children, when arriv'd to years of Discretion. So that the same Exercise of Reason which made the Faher a Freeman, makes the Child fo, who then has a full Liberty within the Bounds of the Law of Nature to difpose of himself and his own Actions, as eems best to him; if it were for no ther reason, than upon the account of hat innate Principle of loving himself est, and consequently preferring his own Good before another's, a Right he cannot livest himself of, as long as Self is Self; nd being oblig'd to preserve his own Life

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and Limbs, and fubfift as happily as his Nature will permit, he cannot allow his Father or any other an absolute Dominion over his Life, or what is necessary to preferve it. But because the Abetters of Arbitrary Power (no fmall Party even under a Constitution which abhors any fuch Notion) affirm that Men were so far from ever being in a State of Equality or Freedom, that they were born Slaves by their Fathers having an absolute Dominion over their Lives; and that Kingly Government, the only lawful Form as founded on the Paternal, is as unlimited and uncontrolable: I shall beg leave to ask those Gentle men, whether Lewis XIV. has fuch a Power over Philip V. fince both being Heads of Independent Nations, are with respect to one another in a State of Nature! But,

5. A Father is fo far from acquiring fuch an Arbitrary Power over his Child, by being instrumental in giving him Life, that he feems to be more restrain'd from hurting him than any other, as being more bound to support and preserve him: and there's nothing in the State of Nature that could give him a Power over the Life or Property of his Child (whom he is to consider not as his own, but the Almighty's Workmanship) which wou'd not give him the fame Power over any other, or any other, even his own Child, the same over him. If a Child, when grown to year of Discretion, lives with his Father, h must, like others, in things relating to

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the Family, be subject to its Master; or if he expects an Estate from his Father, that will be a prudential Motive to be govern'd by him, in all fuch things as will not prove a greater Prejudice to him than the Estate an Advantage. But bating these and fuch-like Confiderations, all that is due from a Child to his Father, is Respect, Honour, Gratitude, and, if need be, Affistance and Support: and if this is all that's owing to the Mother, and is likewife due to Foster-Parents from an expos'd Child, what pretence can the Father have to absolute Power, which if the Law of Nature gave him, he cou'd no more be depriv'd of, than of the Honour or Respect which is due to him by that Law; and confequently all Government except Paternal wou'd be unlawful? And as Fathers only were capable of having Subjects, fo none cou'd have more than he begot, and all by the Death of their Fathers wou'd be freed from this vile Subjection: because this Power being Personal, cou'd no more be dispos'd of by Gift or Will, than the Fatherhood it felf; and confequently they wou'd be equal among themselves, and in a State of Nature, till Consent had made 'em otherwise. To which may be added, that they who have Children, if their own Parents were alive, cou'd not be capable by this Hypothesis of possessing any thing in their own Right, much less an absolute Dominion over their own Children, who like all that are begotten by Slaves wou'd be in the same hands as their Parents are.

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6. Besides, if the Government of the whole Earth was given to Adam sirst, and after him to the eldest Son of the eldest Branch, as the Makers of this Hypothess assert; this must not only destroy the Sovereign Power of Parents, but show that whatever provisional Governments are made by Mankind till this Universal Heir is found out, must be owing to the Consent of Men equal among themselves.

7. In a word, if People owe the same Duty to their Parents since, as they did before Political Government was erected, as there's nothing from Reason or Scripture to the contrary, the Power of a Father over his Children was always the same; and every one must see the difference between Political and Paternal Power, who considers that the most absolute Prince owes the same Duty to his Father, tho his Subject, as a private Person does to his

tho a Sovereign.

8. If then Men are naturally free, with no Power over one another except what's reciprocal, they cannot lose this Equality without their own Consent, in forming themselves into Bodys Politick: which cou'd no otherwise be done, than by agreeing to be determin'd by a Majority; because a Society can have only one Mind, that of the greater Number, who having the greater Force, must make the Body Politick move as they please; and they who do not go with them, cut themselves off from it. And consequently all Power, by the express

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or tacit Confent of the Partys concern'd, must be at first lodg'd in the Majority, who may, where the greatness of the Number does not hinder, keep it in their own hands, or else intrust it with whom they think sit; who, as their Representatives, are to be obey'd as long as they act agreeably to the End for which they were constituted; but when they act contrary to it, of which they who deputed 'em must needs have a Right to judg, the Power naturally returns to the Body of the

People.

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9. As Government at first was founded on the Confent of the Partys concern'd, fo it still continues on the same foot; for the Powers of the first Governors dying with 'em, the Laws must owe their Authority to the present Government, whose presum'd Will it is, that they should bind. till they declare the contrary. Were it otherwise, no Laws could be abrogated or alter'd except by the Persons who made And as the Laws derive their Authority from the present Government, so this owes its obliging Power not to any Compacts of the People in former Ages, but to the Consent of the present Generation, fufficiently express'd by their being willing to be protected by it in their Persons, Liberty and Property, and confequently to allow it all that is necessary for that end; the only Method the Generality in all Countrys have from time to time taken to fignify their confenting to Government. And 'tis this which makes B 4 every every one a Subject, during his stay, to the Government where he resides. So that all Government, the present as well as the past, has no other Origin than the Consent of the Partys concern'd; all expressy or tacitly, collectively or singly agreeing to it.

10. There is nothing in that Objection, That Government could not at first come from Confent, because 'tis not to be prefum'd that all the Partys met to give an express Consent; fince if a few at first agreed on a common Umpire, 'twas sufficient if others by their Actions acknowledg'd an Authority fo advantageous to them. And why People shou'd not have taken this way to come out of the State of Nature at first, as they have done ever fince, there can be no manner of reason. And they who make this Objection, may as well argue that no Language cou'd be of human Institution, because Words not fignifying any thing naturally, we cannot imagine that all should meet together, to agree that fuch Sounds shou'd have such Ideas annex'd to them: and yet this depends not only on the Agreement of those who spoke any Language at first, but of those who have done it since; because no Alterations or Additions cou'd be made to it, without the express or tacit Consent of those that use it.

jection, in owning that Kingly Government, taken in the most absolute sense, is only from God, do in effect acknowledge that

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that all other Governments are owing to Compact and Agreement, tho at the same time they affirm, that no Government cou'd

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12. They who fay that most, if not all, Governments at present owe their Being to Conquest, and not to Consent, suppose fuch a wonderful Merit and Virtue in destroying a Country, burning of Towns, and barbaroufly using the Inhabitants, that it frees Men from all Allegiance to their former Governors, for endeavouring to defend 'em from this Usage; and makes them and their Posterity, as these Men affirm, Slaves to the Conqueror. But if this be abfurd, the only Right a Conqueror has, is built on the Confent of those, who by their former Governor's being no longer able to protect 'em, were reduc'd to a State of Nature, and confequently at liberty to pay Obedience to the Conqueror, upon his taking 'em into his Protection; and accordingly Frontier Towns change Governors more than once in a Campaign.

of whose Origin we have any account, the Jews themselves, as I shall shew hereafter, not excepted, fram'd themselves into Bodys Politick by the Consent of the Partys concern'd: so 'tis as certain, that the Alterations which from time to time have been made in Government, were wholly built on it; and consequently if all Governments were at first fram'd after the same manner as they have been since

chang'd,

chang'd, none of 'em cou'd have any more Power than the People were capable of

trufting 'em with. Now,

14. Men having no Power over their own Lives or Limbs, Government cou'd not flow from hence, but must be deriv'd from the Power they had over one another; founded on the inherent Right they have of preserving themselves, and preferring their own Good to that of others.

For,

God by implanting in Man that only innate and inseparable Principle of feeking his own Happiness, and endeavouring to fublift as conveniently as his Nature permits, has given him a Right, or rather has made it his Duty to do all that's necessary to that End; which includes a Right not only of feeking Reparation for any Injury done to himself, but of punishing the Person who did it, in order to prevent the like for the future. And Mens mutual Security, as well as the common Tyes of Humanity, obliging 'em to affift one another, they had a Right to take fuch Methods, as they thought most effectual to this End; which was to agree to be govern'd by known and stated Laws, and to appoint a common Umpire to determine all Differences by them, and to bind themselves to assist him with their Force in all fuch things as make for their mutual Defence and Security. So that the Power every one had by the Law of Nature, is by their receding from it folely in the Magistrate; whose Right of punishine

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nishing cannot extend further than theirs did in the State of Nature, in which every one was oblig'd to do all he conveniently cou'd for the Preservation of the Life, Liberty, Limbs and Goods of another, when his own was not in danger. And Government is so far from taking off this Obligation, that the chief End of it is to protect Men in all fuch Actions as may be done without Prejudice or Injury to one another; and confequently in all fuch, Men are still in the State of Nature or Liberty. So that it is not any Compacts, Agreements or Affociations which they enter into with one another about fuch things, that put them out of the State of Nature; but that Political Union only which they engage in for defence of themselves and Propertys, and where they oblige themselves to assist the Magistrate in punishing all such Injuries, as the Good of the Whole will not permit to go unpunish'd. And therefore the State of Nature is much wider than is generally imagin'd, fince not only whole Nations with respect to one another are still in it, and every one in the fame Society, when the Danger is too fudden to have recourse to the Magistrate, but all Men are born in it, and always continue to be foin all fuch things as they may practife without injuring one another.

is what Power this gives the Magistrate in Matters of Religion? And here none can doubt that he is fully authorized

to punish the Evil, the Immoral, the Vicious, and reward the Good, the Moral, the Virtuous; since 'tis promoting or prejudicing the Good of the Society, or in other words, such Actions whereby Men receive Advantage or Disadvantage, that denominates the Doers of them either one or the other: And if there's any difference between Immorality and such Superstition as is injurious to the Publick, the Magistrate, as Guardian of the Society, is to restrain the Effects of that likewise by Force.

17. If he can punish one who does an Injury to a fingle Person, he must certainly have as great a Right to punish him who injures the whole Society, by denying the Being of a God, or that he concerns himfelf with the Affairs of Mankind, in rewarding those who act for, and punishing those who act against the general Good: Since fuch a one may be justly reckon'd an Enemy to the whole Race of Mankind, as subverting that Foundation on which their Prefervation and Happiness is mainly built; and as fuch might justly be punish'd by every one in the State of Nature: And consequently the Magistrate must have a Right to punish not only the Deniers of a Divine Being, but all who make the Notion useless, by disowning his providential Care of Mankind, or ineffectual by not honouring or adoring him, or who are guilty of formal Blafphemy, Profaneness, Perjury, and common Swearing.

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18. In a word, Religion is fo very necessary for the Support of human Societys, that 'tis impossible, as is own'd by Heathens as well as Christians, they can fublist without acknowledging some invisible Power that concerns himself with human Affairs; and that the Awe and Reverence of the Divinity makes Men more effectually observe those Dutys in which their mutual Happiness consists, than all the Rods and Axes of the Magistrate. And this is so very obvious, that Atheists know not how to deny it, and therefore suppose Religion to be a Politick Device, contriv'd on purpose for the better regulating of human Societys. And the Storys of certain Nations being fo very barbarous as to entertain no Religion, are either contradicted by later and better Observations, or else they are not link'd together in Society, or are scarce above Brutes in Understanding: So that Men when they associated on a Civil, were oblig'd to do the same on a Religious Account, one being necessary for the Support of the other. Hence it is plain how abfurdly fome Men argue, when to gain an Independent Power in Religious Matters, they wou'd exclude the Magistrate from any Power therein, on pretence that the Welfare of the Civil Society is his only Province; fince that obliges him to concern himself with all such, as conduce to the Happiness of Human Societys; which tho they are the most substantial Parts of Religion, yet I shall so far comply with Custom, as to call them Civil only,

only, in distinction from others to which Men appropriate the Name of Religion. And fince Men have generally interwoven into their Religion fome merely speculative Points and particular Modes of Worship, with certain Rites, Ceremonys, and other indifferent things; and are so much divided about 'em, that there's scarce any Country which is not as much distinguish'd by fome things peculiar in these, as by its Situation: the Question is, whether the Magistrate has any Power here; which can only be known by examining whether Men had any in the State of Nature over their own or others Actions in these mat-

19. Nothing at first fight can be more obvious, than that all being under an indispensable Obligation to worship God after the manner they think most agreeable to his Will, and in all Religious Matters whatever to follow the Dictates of their Consciences, none cou'd make over the Right of judging for himself, since that wou'd cause his Religion to be abfolutely at the disposal of another. And as none has fuch a Power over his own Person, as to be able to authorize the Magistrate (were it possible any cou'd be fo mad as to defire it) to use him ill for worshipping God as he thought most agreeable to his Will; so he can as little impower him to use another ill upon that account, because none in worshipping God according to his Conscience, or in believing and professing such speculative Matters as

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he thinks true, does another any Injury; the only thing which in a State of Nature cou'd give one a Right to punish another-Nay, in that State shou'd any have attempted such an absurd thing himself, or intic'd others to do fo, he might have been infly treated as a common Disturber and Enemy; and consequently they who by the command of any persecuting Magistrate deprive one of his Life, Liberty or Property on this account, are guilty of as great a Crime as if they had done it of themselves without any Commission from him; because as to these matters Men are still in a State of Nature, without any Sovereign Representative to determine for them what they shall believe or profess: And 'tis impossible that Men should ever submit to Government, but with an Intent of being protected in fo neceffary a Duty as worshipping God according to Conscience, as well as in any other matter whatever.

20. 'Tis a grand mistake to suppose the Magistrate's Power extends to indifferent things; for then he might deprive Men of all Liberty, and render his Power insupportable, in hindering them from managing their Private and Family-Concerns as they please; which they have not only a Right to do, but to form what Clubs, Companys or Meetings they think fit, either for Business or Pleasure, which the Magistrate, as long as the Publick sustains no Damage, cannot hinder without manifest Injustice, and acting contrary to the main End for which he was intrusted

intrusted with Power, the Preservation of Mens Libertys in all fuch things as con'd be done without detriment to the Pub. And therefore the Magistrate's lick. Power, the End of Government being the true Measure of its Extent, reaches not to indifferent Matters, but to fuch only as are for the Publick Interest; under which I reckon the determining of all those things, which the Good of the Socie ty will not permit to remain uncertain. And therefore if Conscience was not concern'd about the manner of worshipping God, the Magistrate cou'd have no Right to abridg Men of their Liberty, but is as much oblig'd to protect 'em in the way they chuseof worshipping him, as in any other indifferent matter. But because the Doctrine of Persecution, notwithstanding this and all the Pleas of Conscience, is hotly maintain'd by felf-interested and designing Men, I shall take leave to add a little more on this Head.

21. 'Tis contrary to the Honour of God, as well as the Good of Mankind, that any Human Power shou'd exceed these Bounds; since all which God, who commands not Impossibilities, requires of us, is an impartial Examination; and consequently that alone, provided we act agreeably, makes us acceptable to him, and therefore ought to render us so to Men, who can have no Right to fix Rewards and Punishments to things which are not of a moral Nature, because they tend to hinder the grand Duty of Consideration. For Men,

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when they become capable of chufing their Religion, will be discourag'd from impartially examining those Opinions to which Preferments are annex'd, for fear of finding 'em False; and frighten'd from confidering those to which Punishments are affix'd, lest they find 'em True. And therefore all Awes and Bribes are religiously to be avoided, and the Magistrate to treat all his Subjects alike, how much foever they differ from him or one another in these Matters: fince, as the contrary Method can only ferve to prejudice those who are to chuse their Religion, so it can have no effect on those who have already made their choice (which for the most part, were it not for these Impediments, wou'd be impartially done) except to make them Hypocrites even in the most solemn Acts of Devotion. And how great an Affront that is to God, I need not show; and 'tis no less injurious to Man, fince the Ties of Conscience being broken by a perpetual Dissimulation, Men are ready to perpetrate the greatest Villanys: And where this Effect does not follow, it makes those, whom 'tis the Interest of the Commonwealth chiefly to protect, the Conscientious, to suffer; or else it forces Men to defend by Arms those Natural Rights, of which no Human Power can have a Right to deprive 'em. So that Violence, which is only to be us'd in prevention of a greater Inconvenience to the Publick than it felf, must in this case have most fatal Conlequences. 22. To C

22. To prevent which the Magistrate may punish those who preach up Perfecution, as justly as if they had preach'd up Robbery, Murder, or any other Crime; because it is the most consummate Villany, in making Men suffer for doing the best things they are capable of, and without which they can neither be good Subjects to God or the Magistrate. And Perfecutors alone, unmov'd by Pity or any other Consideration, which frequently difarms other Criminals, continue their Crueltys, till they make Men not only become Villains by destroying all Conscience, the greatest Security one Man can have from another, but blaspheme, affront and outrage God himself by a horrid Diffimulation. So that Perfecution is the most comprehensive of all Crimes, in destroying the End and Design of all Religion, the Honour of God, and the Good of Mankind, Future as well as Present: And confequently the Magistrate ought not only to punish all who teach this most pernicions Doctrine, but to fuffer none to enjoyrany Employment either Ecclefiastical or Civil, who will not in express Terms renounce it.

But here it may be demanded, If a Man's Conscience makes him do such Acts, as the Good of the Society, all things considered, requires a stop to be put to by Force, whether the Sacredness of Conscience ought to tie up the Magistrate's Hand?

23. As all Atheistical Principles destroy Conscience, so they cannot plead a Right

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to a Toleration upon the account of Conscience: And it being the Doctrine of Perfecution alone which makes Men play the Devil for God's fake, I cannot fee, were it not for that, how any fuch Cafe cou'd happen; but if it should, the Magistrate no doubt is to make use of his restraining Power, because as Men in the State of Nature had a Right, nay were in Conscience bound to defend themselves against an Invader, tho he pretended Conscience, so either they had a Right to intrust the Magistrate with this Power, or else with none at all; fince otherwise all Criminals wou'd be fure to plead it: not but that fuch a Conscience, upon supposition it had done its best to be rightly inform'd. wou'd be innocent before God, yet that wou'd not hinder the Magistrate from discharging his Duty in protecting his Subjects. But if he has no pretence to use Force when no Person is injur'd, the Conscience were not concern'd, much less ought he, for Reasons already mention'd, to do it when Conscience is concern'd; and consequently his Power is confin'd to fuch Religious Matters as are likewise Civil, that is, where the Publick has an Interest.

24. To go further than this, and to suppose the Magistrate has a Right to use Force for the promoting of Truth in his Dominions, must suppose he has a Right to judg for his Subjects what is Truth, and that they are bound to act according to his Determinations: since a Right to punish People for not acting according to his Deter-

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minations, necessarily supposes he has a

Right to determine for them.

25. There's no need of any more Power than what I have laid down, to answer all the Ends of Government; fince this gives the Magistrate a Right, when the Good of the Society requires it, to cut off any one, whether Lay or Clergy, from all Church-Communion, by Banishment, Imprisonment, or Death. And by virtue of this Power he can oblige any of his Subjects to ferve his Country, tho that Service confine him to Places which have no Christian or none he can communicate with; nay, to fight for the Safety of his Country against Men of his own Church and Religion: which shows that the Good of the Society is the supreme Law, and that all Church-Considerations, as well as every thing elfe, must give place to it; and that no Person, on any Church-pretence whatever, can be exempt from the Magistrate's Jurisdiction, and consequently that there cannot be two Independent Powers in the fame Society; but that he has the fame power over Men when met together for the Worship of God, as when met together upon other accounts: whom he is then fo far from having a Right to disturb, that he is oblig'd to fecure 'em from all manner of harm, as long as they do nothing prejudicial to the Publick, but much more so, if their Meetings tend to promote the general Good, as Mens affembling to worship God according to their Consciences does.

26. In some sense the Magistrate's Power

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feems to be greater in relation to the Church than to other Societys, fince he requires no more of 'em than that they entertain no Principles destructive of the Publick Good: but here he is to fee that all Doctrines which make for it are to the utmost inculcated; and for that end may ordain or authorize Ministers, publickly to instruct his Subjects to avoid all fuch things as he has a Right to restrain by preventing Force, and to practife all fuch as he ought to encourage by futable Rewards; fince this is a less Power than t'other, and tends to the same End. And nothing can be more abfurd, than to exclude him from a Right of authorizing Persons publickly to mind him of what he owes to his Subjects, and them of those Dutys they are to render to him and one another, and the Motives and Reasons on which they are founded; and to place this in Persons who have no Jurisdiction in such Matters. as he may fet Ministers apart for this End, fo he may deprive, depose, or silence them, if they neglect this Duty, or act contrary to it. And if the Ministers have acquir'd greater Riches, than 'tis the Interest of the Commonwealth they shou'd (as certainly there may be an excess that way) he has a Right to rectify this Abuse; because Mens entring into Political Societys, necessarily subjects their Property to fuch Laws, as for the Publick Good their Rulers shall make about it: And confequently they can hinder Men not only from disposing of their Property to the prejudice of the Publick, but make any Difposition void, which is found to be so: And

the fame Reason which obliges them to make Statutes of Mortmain and other Laws against the Peoples giving Estates to the Clergy, will equally hold for their taking them away when But the Good of the Society being given. the only reason of the Magistrate's having any power over Mens Propertys, I can't fee why he shou'd deprive his Subjects of any part thereof, for the maintenance of fuch Opinions as have no tendency that way: for as no Man, upon his entring into Civil Society, cou'd be prefum'd willing to give the Magistratea power to deprive him of any part of his Property, for the maintenance of fuch Opinions as no ways contribute to the Publick Good, but are, as he judges, prejudicial to his Soul; fo noone having power over the Property of others on any fuch account, cou'd give their Representatives a greater Power than themselves had. For my part, I must own I know not how to answer their Arguments, who say that Men might as well be prefum'd to have empower'd the Legislature to chuse Speculative Opinions for 'em, as to take from 'em any part of their Property for the Support of those Opinions: and that if it be the highest Injustice to force Men to profess such Speculative Opinions as they don't believe, it can't favour much of Juftice to make 'em contribute to the Supportof 'em; especially considering it can have no other effect than advancing Superstition, if not in all, yet in most parts of the World. And therefore they conclude People are injur'd, when they are forc'd to labour and toil, not for their common Benefit, but for maintaining fuch Notions as the Publick receive no advantage by. Besides, 27. The

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com with 27. The tacking the Priests Preferments to such Opinions, not only makes 'em in most Nations, right or wrong, to espouse them, and to invent a thousand sophistical and knavish Methods of desending 'em to the infinite Prejudice of Truth; but is the occasion that Humanity is in a manner extinct among those Christians, who by reason of such Articles are divided into different Sects: their Priests burning with implacable Hatred, and stirring up the same Passions in all they can influence, against the Opposers of such Opinions.

That this is the Cause of Christians treating one another with so much Barbarity, is evident from this one Consideration, That no such Effects follow by Mens differing in such Opinions, wherein the Clergy have no Interest; but here their very Livelihoods and Subsistence are at

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28. As this is all the Power Men cou'd invest the Magistrate with in Religious Matters, so where this does not reach. they can be under no other Human Power, but remain still in a natural State, subject to God and their own Consciences only; fince no Man's Religion, like his Lands, descends from Father to Son, but every one, when capable, is to chuse his own Church. And the only Motive that is to determine him is the faving his own Soul: for as he is oblig'd, tho all Human Power commands the contrary, to join himself with that Church which he judges will best conduce to it; fo the same Reason, as C 4 often

often as it occurs, will oblige him to leave that Church: and confequently he has an inherent Right, which cannot on any pretence whatfoever be delegated, to judg of the Terms of Communion in any Church, before he makes himself a Member of it. And 'tis not his joining to it yesterday, which obliges him to continue in it to day, but a constant personal liking; unless you suppose Churches made like Traps, easy to admit one, but when once he is in, there he must always stick either for the pleasure or profit of the Trapsetters. So that all Men in forming themselves into Societys for the Worship of God, are in a natural State, neither Prince nor Priest having any more Power over the Peasant, than he has over either of them; but all are to be govern'd by the same Motives. And tho no Church, more than any other voluntary Society, can hold together, except the Members agree on some Place, on the Persons to officiate, and suchlike Circumstances; yet none has a Right to prescribe to another, but every one has for himself a Negative: So that here's a perfect Equality, for no Man has any more power over another, than another has over him; and as no man is capable of being represented by another, every one must judg for himself of the Forms and Modes of Worship, the Doctrines, Rites and Ceremonys of any Church, not only before he joins himself to it, but afterwards. And therefore if the determining of fuch things, as are necessary to be agreed Op

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on in order to form a Congregation for the Worship of God, is to be call'd Church-Government, 'tis impossible any Government can be more popular, because none are oblig'd even by a Majority; but those who cannot go with 'em, are to form themselves into a Church after the best manner they can; and two or three thus gather'd together in the Name of our Saviour, have the Promise of his being with them. Nor can this be otherwise, without destroying the very Being of a Church: because when People meet together upon any other Motive, than worshipping God according to that Method they judg most agreeable to his Will, they cannot deferve the Name of a Church; but are met together rather for the affronting than worshipping of him.

29. What has not a little contributed to make Men suppose there are Umpires, Judges or Governors in Religious as well as Civil Matters, is the Magistrate's annexing Profits and Privileges to the Teachers of his own Religion, exclusively of others; and determining who shall license those that are to have these Advantages, and on what Qualifications; and who shall deprive 'em, and for what causes, and And the chief of the Clergy luch-like. being the Magistrate's Deputys in this matter, and all of 'em in most Countrys being, generally speaking, of the Religion to which they find Preferments annex'd, do, in order to bring others right or wrong into the same Sentiments, call

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this Establishing their Religion and Church by Law; and make it Schism, and confequently Damnation, not to be of the Church establish'd by Law: which not withstanding all the noise and din the Clergy make about it, ought not to bias Men, much less take from 'em their na tural Right of judging for themselves in matters of Religion, unless they ought to be in all Countrys of that Religion to which they find these Emoluments annex'd For if one Magistrate has a right to judg to what Religion he will affix these; all Magistrates, Supreme Power being every where the same, wou'd have an equal Right; and consequently this, no more in one Country than another, ought to be a Motive to determine Men in the choice of their Religion or Church.

30. By what's faid, 'tis plain how hap-Human Societys wou'd be, did not their Rulers usurp more Power than they cou'd be invested with by their Subjects; who cou'd not oblige themselves to assist em with their Force, except in such case only as themselves had a right to use it in the State of Nature: and what those Casts are they cannot well be mistaken in; and consequently the Commands of a Tyrant are so far from justifying or excusing their affifting him either in unjustly invading their Neighbours, or injuring their Fellow-Citizens, that they are oblig'd by the common Ties of Humanity to affift one another in opposing Tyrants, who by be-traying the highest Trust, become the greatest

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greatest and basest of Traitors. And had Men, instead of becoming the cursed Instruments of Tyranny, assisted one another in defending their natural Rights by whomfoever invaded, as by the Law of Nature they were oblig'd, the greatest part of Mankind wou'd not for so many Ages have groan'd under an insupportable Slavery; nor those few, but brave Nations, which are so happy as yet to be free, have been at so great Expence of Blood and Treasure in maintaining their Libertys, for which those who at present reap the mighty Advantage, cannot without monstrous Ingratitude condemn the Conduct of their Anceftors, or the noble Principles which thus animated them.

31. The Benefit wou'd be as great upon an Ecclesiastical as Civil account, if Sovereigns did not endeavour to extend their Power further than their People cou'd authorize 'em; for then all Persecution, and all those other innumerable Mischiefs both to the Souls and Bodys of Men. which have been occasion'd by not suffering 'em to worship God according to the Dictates of their Consciences, wou'd have been avoided. But of this fully, when I treat of the Method the first Christian Emperors shou'd have taken to prevent Ecclesiastical Tyranny and Priestcraft, and to make the Clergy as useful both to State and Church, as for want of it they have in most places been prejudicial to both. What's premis'd concerning the Natural Rights of Mankind,

was necessary; lest when I show that there cannot be two Independent Powers in the same Society, and that the Magistrate has all the Power relating to Religion which Man is capable of, I might seem to give him as great a Power as Hobbs complemented him with; between whom and those who claim an Independent Power in Church-matters, how much soever they may rail at him, there's no other difference, than that he will have the Magistrate to judg for the People as well as himself, but they wou'd have both blindly follow them.

use to exclude the Magistrate from Power in Church-matters, which will not hold as much for Mens Natural Rights against them. For will not their having a Right to prescribe Terms of Communion for the People, make their Religion to be at their disposal, as much as it wou'd be at the Magistrate's, if he had such a Power! And if a Right in him to oblige the People to acquiesce in his Interpretation of Scripture, wou'd be the same as a Right to make Scripture, can any fallible Set of Priests be sovereign Interpreters of it?

33. In short, Men cannot have a Right to the End, but they must likewise have to the Means; and consequently if they are oblig'd to worship God as they think most agreeable to his Will, they must have an inherent Right of ordering all such things as they judg necessary to

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the End; otherwise they must either be oblig'd to worship God in a manner they udg he condemns, when their pretended fure Divino Governors command 'em fo to do, or else to remain without any Worship at all, if these Governors will not fettle those things, without a special Determination of which no Religious Worship can be perform'd. Nor can it be pretended, that tho the Right is in the Priest, yet that in such cases it reverts to the People; because nothing can revert to them, which was not at first deriv'd from them: which tho the Magistrate might plead, the Priests cannot, because they do not so much as pretend to derive their Power from the People.

34. Nothing can be more abfurd than maintaining there must be two Independent Powers in the same Society; otherwise the Christian Religion cou'd not have subsisted when the Magistrate was not of it: Since till the coming of Christ, all Religious Societys which were not of the Magistrate's Persuasion (and I may add those that were, except they were so because it was his) did subsist by this Natural Right, without ever dreaming of an Imperium in Imperio. And there can be no manner of pretence why those Christian Religious Assemblys which are not of the Magistrate's Persuasion, may not maintain themselves by that Natural Right by which all others have done it, from their first Exi-

stence to this very day.

35. And

35. And tho many Priefts lay their main stress on this Argument, which they use in upon all Occasions with all the pompon Solemnity imaginable, and triumph in it as a demonstrative Proof of their Inde. pendent Power; yet alas the only thing it demonstrates, is, that they are either the most ignorant of all Mankind, in not feeing what the Light of Nature made plain to Men of all other Religions, or elfe the most ambitious, in endeavouring knowingly and defignedly to impose on the People in a thing of the greatest confequence. But, to do 'em all the right ! can, I shall now set down what Power 'tis they claim, as belonging to 'em by Divine Right, and then consider their Arguments both from Reason and Scrip-

36. The Clergy, generally speaking, at firm that God has appointed for every Christian Nation two Governments inde pendent of each other, one for Ecclefiaftical, t'other for Civil Matters; and that both have, as without which no Government can fubfift, a Legislative and Executive Power; and that one of these Governments, to wit of the Church, belongs to them by a Divine unalterable Right, convey'd from Christ and his Apostles, who empower'd 'em to rule the Church to the end of the World; and that by virtue of this Spiritual Empire, they have a right to make Laws not only about indifferent Matters, as Rites and Ceremonys, but that their Authority likewise extends

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o Matters of Faith, that is, according to he Practice of all Synods, to determine for the People what they shall believe and proefs; and that they have a right to enforce Obedience to their Ecclefiaftical Decrees by Spiritual Censures, the Effects of which are, fay they, infinitely more to be dreaded than any the Civil Power can inflict, fince tis no lefs than shutting Heaven's Gates, and a delivering over to Satan all who are fo unhappy as to fall under 'em: And that as none can be admitted into the Church except by their means, fo they have not only a difcretionary Power either to dmit or not admit, but likewise to puhish those they have admitted, not only by rebuking and reproving 'em, but by turning 'em out of the Church, and obliging all Persons to shun and avoid em; and that for all manner of Sins, for the breach of the Commandments of the fecond, as well as of the first Table: And that the better to do this, they, like all other Independent Powers, have a right to erect Courts of Judicature, fummon Witnesses, and to do whatsoever they judg necessary for the Support of their independent Jurisdiction; of the Extent of which, themselves, under God, are the sole Judges, and confequently can excommunicate their Spiritual Subjects for whatever they shall judg to be Contempt, Contumacy and Disobedience: And that they have this great Advantage above the Laity, that they are capable of the highest Civil as well as Ecclefiaftical Power; but that 'tis

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and impious Usurpation and horrid Sacrilege in all, except those to whom the true Successors of the Apostles have by laying on of Hands given the Holy Ghost, to exercise any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, Office or Employ; and that whatfoever they attempt of this nature, is null and void, for want of a Commission, which none are authoriz'd to bestow, except those who derive their Power from God in a direct Succession from the Apostles. The Confequence of which is, that theirs is the most absolute, arbitrary, unlimited, uncontrolable Power in the World; because having it without any Intervention of the People, or their Representatives, they cannot be accountable to them for any Male administration, but to God alone, from whom they receiv'd their Power.

As these are the Powers which the generality of the Clergy claim for themselves as Governors of the Church by Divine Right (of which none who is the least conversant in their Writings can be ignorant) so those amongst em, who wou'd not be thought to abet these Notions, must needs countenance and commend my Design, in endeavouring to confute an Error which has so universally

obtain'd.

In order to the doing of which, the first thing I shall examine into, is the Possibility of two Independent Powers in the same Society; because if that prove to be repugnant to the nature of things, the whole Hierarchy, as built on it, must

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necessarily fall to the ground, and great will Chap. 13 be the Fall of this Spiritual Babylon.

## CHAP. I.

That there cannot be two Independent Powers in the same Society.

A LL Independent Power must be Su-11 preme, because what is not so must be dependent; and no Power can be Supreme, which does not necessarily carry Les gislation with it. Now there cannot be two fuch Powers at the fame time, either about the fame or different things. About the fame 'tis impossible, because by one Power a Man may be oblig'd to do a thing, by t'other forbid to do it: fo that the same Action wou'd be a Duty and a Sin; a Duty in obeying one, and a Sin in disobeying the other. Nor is it more possible there shou'd be two such Powers about different things, because a Man can be no more at the same time under different Obligations, than at different Places; fince he may be bound to be at a Camp and at a Church; or before an Ecclesiastical and a Civil Tribunal, at the fame time: Nay, he may be oblig'd to do not only different, but opposite and contrary things.

2. For one Power may command him to keep Holy-day upon an Ecclesiastical,

t'other to work upon a Civil account; one may require him to feast, t'other to fast; as it happen'd at Edinburgh 1581. the Independent Kirk commanding a Fall on the same day the King had oblig'd the Citizens to treat the Embassadors of the French King at a splendid Dinner. Ecclefiaftical Power may oblige a Person to exercise his Spiritual Function, in this or that place; the Civil Power (for reasons relating to the State) may command him from thence: So one Power may, upon a Ecclefiastical Account, excommunicate Person, and thereby oblige People to shu and avoid him; the other may, upon a Civil, make it necessary for 'em to have frequent Communion with him. So the Magistrate may forbid his Subjects to have any Correspondence with such a Person; on the contrary, the Clergy may put him in fuch a Post in the Church, as must make it necessary for their Spiritual Subjects to converse with him. In short, a thousand things of this nature will occur. Nor can the first Absurdity be avoided, of these Powers being conversant about the same things: For if the Magistrate is to judg what is Civil, he must unavoidably judg what is Ecclefiastical, because Civil includes all that is not fo; and if the Priest be allow'd to determine what is Ecclesiastical, he mult (there being no Medium) determine what is Civil: which is supposing two Independent Powers judging at the same time, with relation to the same Persons, concerning all things whatfoever; because all things

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hings are either Civil or Ecclefiaftical. Chap. 1? Who is there to judg between 'em in those lmost infinite Particulars which require a pecial Determination? How can the common Subject at the fame time obey both, when both wou'd be own'd as Supreme n the fame things? And can it be fupos'd, that God (who is the God of Orders nd not of Confusion) wou'd ever involve us n fuch inextricable Difficultys, as to fubect us to two Powers, which are either pt to clash and interfere continually about he same things, or else to command, if ot contrary, yet different things at the ame time?

3. In short, they who pretend to set up wo fuch Powers, do in effect confound oth; because their Commands being qual, they must destroy each other's Force nd Virtue, and consequently free Men rom the Obligation to both. To avoid which if you suppose one must be forced o give way, that which does fo cannot e independent, but by virtue of that Obligation is subjected to the other. and a Power to null an Obligation, does ofer a Right to make one; because no reater Power is requir'd for the one than or the other.

4. To imagine two fuch Powers fuling he Body Politick, is as abfurd as to supofe two Souls independent of one anoher to govern the Body Natural. leads to the same Body, whether Natural r Political, can ferve to no other use than

o make a Monster of it.

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5. This Supposition of two Independent Powers, tends to destroy the proof of on Supreme Governor of the Universe. For if there may be two fuch in every Society on Earth, why may there not be mon than one in Heaven? But this feem'd absurd to the primitive Christians, the from the Impossibility of it, they confute the Multiplicity of the Heathen God which had been no very good Argument them, had they imagin'd two fuch Power in every Society on Earth, who certain are more apt to clash with one another So that this Notion, instead of being founded in Christianity, favours most grow of Heathenish Divinity.

o. And if you allow more than one Power in every Society, there's no reason a stop at two; but you must multiply them, till all, or at least all necessar Societys have a distinct Independent Head

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7. If it be contrary to the nature of things, that there shou'd be more than one Power in a Family, every one sees that the same invincible Reason forbids more than one in a Society, made up of several samilys; for the greater the Community, the greater Disorder and Confusion will the Attempt of introducing more create. To avoid which, it was necessary that the Father and Husband, tho both have the Power from God, shou'd be subject to the Son and Wife, when entrusted by the People with the Government; by which they are empower'd not only to command both

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oth, but for just reasons to put them to Chap. 1. eath.

What has been here faid, proves, that 1 Supreme or Independent Power must be adivisible; and that he who has any such Ecclesiasticals, must have the same in livils, and confequently all Power whatbever. But because the Clergy pretend hat their Ecclesiastical Power may be diided from, and no ways interfere with he Magistrate's Civil Power; I shall now now the contrary, even in those things hey imagin the most unlikely to clash vith it, viz. an independent Right of naking and depriving Ecclesiasticks, and of excommunication.

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8. As to the first, this wholly excludes he Magistrate from having a Right to put Clergyman to death; because in Depriation of Life is included Deprivation of ll Offices and Employs whatfoever: and onsequently without having the less, he ou'd not have the greater, in which that s contain'd. And if the Clergy hold heir Offices by a Divine Commission, the Magistrate can have no more Right to dear or hinder their executing them, than o suspend or supersede such a Comnission. And a Divine Independent Right nany one to an Office, necessarily suppoes the same Right to the Place where he s to exercise it, and to the Persons on whom he is to exercise it: and consequently the Magistrate can, upon no pretence whatsoever, banish, imprison, renove, or any way hinder a Person from

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exercifing his Spiritual Function in the Place, where the governing Clergy have oblig'd him to refide; much less incapad tate him by any Punishment from perform ing it at all. And by the same reason he has as little power over a Layman; because if he puts him to death, banishes, imprifons, or removes him from the District h belongs to, he deprives the Governor of that District of a Subject, to whose Soil ritual Obedience he has an Independent

Right.

9. As to the second, if the Power of Excommunication belongs independently to the Clergy, the Magistrate cou'd no mon do that which necessarily deprives one of the Communion of the Church, than 1 Priest can that whereby one's Death unvoidably follows; because if the Governments are equal, by being both Independent, the Magistrate can have no mon Power over Men directly or indirectly in Ecclesiasticals, than the Priest has in G. vils; and confequently he cou'd no more by Banishment, Imprisonment or Death, hinder one from communicating with his own Church, much less with all the Churches in the World (as by the last he most effectually does) than the Priest cou'd do any thing, whereby Deprivation of Country, Estate, Liberty or Life, is the necessary Consequence.

But this is not all; for the Power of Excommunication in the Priests, takes from the Magistrate the Right of depriving one of the Exercise of any Profession, Cal-

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ling, Employ, or Trade whatfoever; fince Chap. 1. none can exercise 'em, who is to be shun'd by all People. And if the Clergy can oblige every body to shun those they excommunicate, they must consequently be able to deprive whom they please of their Professions, &c. which must debar the Magistrate of doing the same, since both cannot have a Right to the same Power at the same time. Nay, considering no Person can long subsist without the Assistance of others, which cannot be had, where People are oblig'd to avoid all Commerce and Converse with him; a Sentence of Excommunication, if strictly put in execution, wou'd not only deprive one of any Employ whatsoever, but cause him for some time to lead a Life more to be dreaded than Death it felf, and at last to perish most miserably: and confequently an Independent Power of Life and Death wou'd belong to the Clergy; and there is no Person whatsoever exempt from this Punishment, no not the Magistrate, since he is their Ecclesiastical Subject, and may be reduc'd to this miferable and forlorn Condition, by the Clergy's drawing their Spiritual Sword (as they term this Censure) against all of his Party, Soldiers and others; and obliging them to avoid, shun, and consequently desert him, on pain of having Heaven's Gates shut against 'em, and being deliver'd over to Satan. And Men certainly in common Prudence will be fure to comply with those who have this Power over D 4

their Souls, rather than with the Magistrate, who has Power only over their Bodys.

10. If it be faid, they have not this Power over the Magistrate, because ?tis inconfistent with his Civil Rights; will not the Argument hold as to the People? For is he not in Ecclesiasticals as much a private Person as any of 'em; and in Civils has he any Rights except what they give him for their own fakes, being their Creature, as St. Peter calls him, made by them, as well as for them? And does not every one, as well as he, fuffer by this Punishment, in his Civil and Natural Capacity? fince the Conversation of his Fellow-Citizens is absolutely necessary to his Well-being here, to which, unless he acts contrary to the common Rules of fociable and rational Creatures, he has a natural Right, built on the necessity Men are in of one another's Assistance; each Perfon's Insufficiency for himself being the Foundation of all the mutual Dutys between Man and Man. And he that's in the right in speculative Notions, can as little live without the Concurrence of others, as he that's in the wrong: and whofoever will not be shun'd for the sake of his Opinions, ought to observe the same meafure with respect to others, who have the same Privilege of judging for themselves. The contrary Treatment, fince it can no ways convince the Understanding, but is apt to produce Hatred and Dissimulation, ought only to be us'd for breaking those common Rules, by which Mankind subsist

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in Societies. And if the Clergy claim a Chap. 1. judicial Power in these Matters, what can

be exempted from their Jurisdiction?

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By what's here briefly touch'd at, 'tis plain that an independent Right in the Clergy, of Deprivation, and of Excommunication, does not only clash, but is wholly inconsistent with the Magistrate's Civil Power. However, let us a little more fully consider, what effect an independent Right in the Clergy to Excommunication will have on Mankind.

11. If he, who has power over Mens Lives, must needs command their Propertys, because they wou'd willingly part with one to preserve t'other; how great must their Power be, who can exclude Men from everlasting Life? Nothing less than that being, as the Priests pretend, the Confequence of their Excommunication; Men wou'd be most notorious Fools, not to let all in this World, their Lives as well as Properties, be at their disposal, to prevent or take off this infinitely great Punishment. But the temporal Effect of it, without the affiftance of its spiritual Force, is sufficient to enflave Mankind? fince the depriving one of all Converse must needs be insupportable to fo fociable a Creature as Man: for who can indure to be shun'd as a frightful or infectious Animal, and to be left alone and folitary in the midst of Mankind? This fingly, tho one was able to fubfift without the Concurrence of others, being too much for human Nature to support; what wou'd not Men do or fuffer to avoid it?

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have this Power even in the most strict and fevere sense; for if it belongs to them to prohibit People from conversing with whom they please, it must likewise belong to them (for who can interpose in things of their Cognizance?) to judg of the measure of the Prohibition: and consequently when they extend it to the utmost, by forbidding all manner of Communication,

People are oblig'd to obey them.

13. The turning out of the Synagogue amongst the lews (a), tho it did not debar one from the Legal Worship, wholly exclude him from all Converse, but only oblig'd him to keep a certain distance; yet was thought fo fevere a Punishment. that the Rabbys, and other great Men, by way of Commutation, had the favour of being foundly beaten (tho fome fince, fubtler than Jews, have manag'd Commutations more to their own advantage, by enriching themselves, and beggering, if Fame be not a Liar, many an honest Diffenter) and the Jews now chuse (b) to fubmit not only to Stripes, but to Banishment rather than to it. Among the Efsenes (c), the strictest Sect of the Jews, " Excommunication was fo terrible, that "they who incur'd that Sentence, came " probably to a miserable End, being driven

(a) Selden de Synedriis.

(c) Josephus de Bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 7.

<sup>(</sup>b) Grotius de Imperio summarum potestarum circa sacra, cap. 9. S. 10.

to graze like Beafts till the Flesh rotted Chap. 1.

ciety had fometimes the Charity, when they were at the point of death, to re-

lig'd themselves to refuse Assistance, the offer'd; but wou'd it not be as bad if all were

bound not to offer it?

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14. The antient Germans (d) thought Excommunication so insupportable, that many laid violent hands on themselves, rather than endure it: And not without good reason; for who wou'd not be kill'd outright, rather than be oblig'd to sustain Life in an uninhabited Place? And the being amongst Men, when they agree to have no Communication with him, is far from making his Condition many clirible.

ing his Condition more eligible.

15. The Druids (d), who got the fole power of Excommunication to themselves, by virtue of it govern'd all things; and Kings were only their Ministers to execute their Sentences. And have not the Christian Druids, by pretending an independent Right to it, rul'd the Christian World as they pleas'd; especially in the most ignorant times, when the Pope, as Head of the Church, insulted and lorded it over both Kings and People; who (as the Indians do the Devil) ador'd him out of fear, so apprehensive were they of the Thunder of his Excommunications?

(e) Dion Chrysostom, Orat. 49.

<sup>(</sup>d) Tacitus de moribus Germanorum.

16. Of this had not the Nation been fensible, they wou'd not have declar'd (f),

That the Reason why the Pope and his Adherents hinder'd Laymen from ex-

" ercifing Ecclefiastical Jurisdiction, was,

that they might gather and get to them-

" felves the Rule and Government of the

" World.

frike every where fuch a Terror into Men; 'tis not because it does not naturally produce it, but because they do not strictly and religiously avoid all Converse with the Excommunicated; whom they cannot think to be in a very desperate Condition with respect to t'other World, when they consider the trisling Causes for which that Penalty is commonly inslicted. Besides, where there are several Churches, being censur'd by one of them, seldom makes a Man less esteem'd by the rest; which possibly is one reason why the Clergy make what they call Schism to be so heinous a Sin.

18. Can any fay the Magistrate has all the Power necessary for the Protection of his Subjects, if Excommunication belongs by Divine Right to the Clergy? For then, tho by the Terror of this dreadful Punishment they drive the most useful Citizens and their Trades into Foren Parts, to the ruin of the Commonwealth; or any other way, by virtue of it, oppress his Subjects; he is so far from having a Right

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And what can more discourage him from acting for the good of the Commonwealth, when contrary to the Interest or Designs of the Clergy, than his being subject to this Punishment? And the his own Person were exempt, yet that would signify little, so long as those he acts by are liable to it. But the both the Magistrate and Ministers were ever so willing to protect the People, yet they are deprived of the Means, because

19. The Cognizance almost of all Causes must belong to the Clergy; fince whosoever offends, or injures his Brother, commits a Sin: and the Arguments they use for their spiritual Jurisdiction, such as Reformation of Manners, the Good of Mens Souls, Avoiding Scandal, &c. give them a right to excommunicate for one Sin as well as another; and confequently for Invalion of Property, no small Sin. And whosoever punishes for this, must, if he be not a mere Executioner of another's Sentence. judg concerning the Matter of Fact, whether the Defendant has injur'd the Plantiff. &c. and Judgments would be in vain, if People were not to submit to the Determination of the Judges. By the same reason, the Clergy must have a right to excommunicate for all Crimes against the publick Good, these being Sins of the first Magnitude: And, to instance in Rebellion, they cannot have a Power to censure Men for it. without a right of judging to whom Allegiance

giance is due; so that all publick and private Right is subject to their Determination.

20. And confidering the same things are both Civil and Religious, and there's nothing relating to one's felf, one's Neighbor. or the Publick, but where Religion is, or may be concern'd, and where the Clergy, as a matter of Conscience, are to advise; this wou'd give them, if they have a lurisdiction as well as a Right to advise, a Power in all things whatfoever, exclusively of all others, were it for no other reason, than that Men cannot obey contrary Judgments; tho another may be added, that Oaths being necessary for the determining of Controversys, These, as spiritual things, wou'd belong only to the Clergy to administer or judg of, or punish for the breach of 'em.

21. If it be faid, that these two Independent Powers may judg concerning the same Crimes; because one punishes on account of the State, t'other of the Church: This, beside the Absurdity of two Independent Powers judging about the fame things, is manifestly unjust, in subjecting the same Persons to undergo two Trials, and to be punish'd twice for the same Crime. And the end of all Punishment being to deter Men from committing those Crimes for which the Criminal fuffers, takes in all Pretences either from the Good of the Church or State, or whatever else may be fuggested; and consequently being punish'd by one Independent Power is fuffici ment 'em 1 term every they when as th vear, them Powe of R or no powe Mon for o Impo than fuch

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fufficient to answer all the ends of Punish-Chap. 1.

22. If the Clergy, when a Number of 'em meet in a Council, have a right to determine for the Christian World (as was every where believ'd not long fince) when they shall eat, and when not; and can when they please forbid the use of Flesh, as the Papists are for one third of the year, and excommunicate all who disobey them; why may they not assume the same Power about Drinks or Clothes, the times of Rifing or Going to Bed, or of Working or not Working (which is included in the power of appointing Holy-days) and get Mony for Dispensations in these matters? for one cannot be accounted a more infolent Imposition on the Liberties of Mankind. than the others: And they who can assume fuch a Power to themselves, what will they not, unless sufficiently curb'd, pretend to; and, which is infinitely worse, by virtue of Excommunication and spiritual Anathema's bring about?

an independent Power of Excommunication, but of Ordination in the Clergy, is inconfiftent with the Magistrate's Right to protect the Commonwealth; because then they may put not only Men of the best Abilities to serve the Commonwealth, but such great Numbers into Orders, the better to carry on their common Interest (which we see actually done in Popish Countrys) as may tend to the infinite prejudice of the

State.

24. In a word, there's nothing, if the Clergy were Governors of the Church, which would not belong to their judicial Cognizance: as for instance, they would have a Right to judg concerning all Laws, Leagues and Contracts; and when they find them prejudicial to the Church (of which they are the proper and fole Judges) to declare 'em void and null. So their Power on a Churchaccount would extend to all that Trade and Commerce which is carry'd on by People of different Religions and Persuasions; because those who are in the right cannot deal with those in the wrong, without conversing with 'em; and fo the Church must be infected, which its Governors must have a right to prevent.

25. If the Clergy are Governors of the Church by an independent Right, they must have the fame Right to every thing necessary for the Support of the Government; because that, without which the Government cannot fubfift, cannot be separated from the Government; with which the Clergy being invested, of course they must have an independent right to lay on their Subjects what Taxes they judg necessary for maintaining the Ecclesiastical State, its Officers and Ministers, and for the Building and Repairing of Churches, and all other Ecclesiastical Edifices: And therefore the Magistrate cannot, by depriving a Man of his Limbs and Libertys, or by burdening him with Civil Taxes or other ways, disable him from paying his Quota of those spiritual Assessments his Ecclesiastical

Governors shall impose.

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26. If the same People are to be under Chap. 1. different Governors independent of each w other, the Civil Governor can have no more power on a Civil Account over the common Subject, than the other on an Ecclefiastical; nor can they hinder one another of the Obedience due to each: and confequently the Magistrate cannot deprive one of his Life or Liberty, or use any other reftraining method; because this must either for every or for a time, rob the Ecclesiaftical Governor of a Subject, to whom he has at all times an independent Right. by the fame reason, he cannot remove him from the District of his spiritual Governor, or indeed from his Parish; because he cannot destroy the Relation between him and his Parish-Priest; nor lay any Commands on him, which are either as to matter or time inconsistent with those of his other Governor. Then as for the Ecclesiafticks themselves, the Magistrates can oblige 'em to nothing that will in the least divert 'em from attending the several Stations in which they are plac'd by the Governors of the Church.

Governors cannot oblige People to avoid and shun a Man, because they have no Right to hinder them from conversing about Civil Matters, these being under the Cognizance of the Civil Magistrate: And the common Subject will find it a pretty difficult business to give his Neighbor the Right he has to his Conversation on a Civil Account, and yet wholly to sepa-

rate from him upon an Ecclefiastical.

28. In brief, as the Civil Magistrate cannot command or punish his Civil Subject. without commanding or punishing the Subject of the Ecclesiastical Magistrate; so 'tis the same vice versa, and consequently they must needs destroy each other's Power, and free Men from all Subjection to either.

29. Then as to the Governors themselves. what can be more abfurd, than to imagine that one can be Subject to, and Sovereign of the same Person, and be oblig'd to punish him for Rebellion, and yet in so doing be guilty of the same Crime against him, as the Magistrate plainly is, when he puts his Ecclefiaftical Governor to death? fince disfolving the Relation between the Sovereign and his Ecclesiastical Subjects, if done by one of 'em, is nothing less than a spiritual Rebellion. If on one hand 'tis faid that no Governor of a compleat Body Politick can want what's necesfary for its Preservation; and consequently the Magistrate, on that account, has a Right to put any of his Subjects to death: On the other fide it will be reply'd, that the Church, by reason of its Divine Institution, is the most compleat Body Politick; and therefore its Governors (as no fuch Body can be without it) must have a Right to meet, when and where they please, sit as often and as long as they think fit; which is inconfiftent with a Right in the Magistrate to put'em to death, or by Punishment or any other way to hinder 'em from exercising this Power,

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Power, because then they wou'd be de-Chap. 1: pendent on him in the highest and most conficulty of Government, that of Legislation. But we are not to stop here; for

30. This Hypothesis gives the Ecclesiaftical Governors, whenever the Safety of the Church, the supreme Law, requires it, of which they are the Judges, a Power over the temporal Sovereign; for the less Noble must give place to the more Noble, the Temporal yield to the Spiritual, and the Church be prefer'd before the State. And therefore 'tis no wonder "that not " only Popes (g) and Councils have affer-" ted the deposing Doctrine, but that the " Christian World for more than six hun-" dred years did acquiesce in it; and that " during that whole time not fo much as " one Divine, Civilian, Canonist or Ca-" fuift, writ against it: and those Writers " the depos'd Princes got to undertake " their Defence, do not in any of their " Books pretend to call the Doctrine in " general in question. And twas not the Pope only, but other Bishops who took upon 'em to depose their Sovereigns; as nothing was more folemn than the French Bishops, Anno 833, deposing the Emperor Ludovicus Pius, which in their condemnatory Sentence they declare done by the Council of God and the Authority of the Church; and apply all those Arguments of the Good

<sup>(&</sup>amp;) Bishop of Sarum's Expos. of the 19th Article.

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of Mens Souls, &c. made use of for an independent Power, to justify their Conduct; and to prevent his being restor'd, they first force him to take the Habit of a Penitent, and then declare that no Man after such a Penance ought to return to a Secular Militia.

very plain, that there cannot be more than one Independent Power: and if that belongs to the Magistrate, the Clergy can have none, except it be deriv'd from him, as all dependent Power must be. But if this is in the Clergy, the Magistrate can be no more than their Subject in Civils, as well as in Ecclesiasticals; and therefore they who are for such a Power in the Clergy, however they may complement the Magistrate, deal with him, as the Epicureans did of old with God, Verbis ponere, re tollere.

32. It may be faid, no Clergymen ownal these Consequences: the Popish Priests own as many as serve to exempt themselves (tho the Reason holds as strongly for the Laity) and all that belongs to 'em from the Magistrate's Power, and to make him no better than their Executioner; and upon resusing that noble Office, to forfeit his Dominions. Nay Bellarmine (h) goes so far as to assert that 'tis no less than Heresy no deny that the Pope has it in his Power to dispose of all private Mens Estates, as well as the Diagram of the private Mens Estates, as well as the Diagram of the popular than the popular than the Diagram of the private Mens Estates, as well as the Diagram of the popular than the Diagram of the popular than the Diagram of the

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<sup>(</sup>h) Bellarmine's Answer to Barclay, of the Temporal Power of the Pope.

dems of Kings, if he see it good and prositable Chap. 1. for the Holy Church. And it cannot be imagin'd, that those of the Protestant Clergy who maintain the Doctrine of their Independency, do it barely as a speculative Opinion; but for the sake of its advantageous Consequences, which shou'd they pretend to all at once, they would be so far from gaining their Point, that they wou'd make Men see the Absurdity of that Principle, whence so

many enflaving Doctrines follow.

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33. Their way is to get one thing by it first, then another, next a third; till at last every new Step being made a new Argument, it will be too late to deny them It was by this method (for any thing. Rome was not built in a day ) that formerly the Priesthood by degrees advanc'd it self to fo prodigious a height; tho there are fome now, who with too general an approbation have, by virtue of this Principle, tho contrary to the Laws of the Church and State, and their very Oaths, fet up for more Power of late, than in former times was claim'd in some Centurys. if the Ecclesiasticks, when they were openly debauch'd, and scandalously ignorant, and therefore not so much in Credit with the Laity, could carry things so high, there's no reason to think, but that now, fince the restor'd Learning of Europe is principally lodg'd with 'em, and they do not appear fo dissolute in their Manners, and confequently have a greater influence on the People, they will be able by degrees to make 'em, if they are once so foolish as to

to allow the Premises, see and feel too the Conclusion; especially if ever they come to be better united among themselves, and agree where to place this Power. 'Twill then be in vain to have recourse to Laws and Statutes; all human Constitutions must be only wast Paper, when inconfistent with a Divine Right. As for instance, let it once be allow'd that the Clergy are independent in the Exercise of their Offices, it cannot be deny'd 'em to be as independent in every thing that's necessary for it; and if the Magistrate cannot deprive 'em, he cannot put 'em to death, fince one is unavoidably included in the other. Allowing the Magistrate a power of putting a Priest to death, and denying him that of a bare Deprivation, is not for the advantage of the Clergy; fince then he will be forc'd to deprive 'em of their Lives, whenever he finds it necessary to remove 'em from their Office. And if the Legislative Power had done so by the Nonfwearing Bishops, all the Schism and the other most dreadful Consequences which Mr. Dodnel supposes to flow from their being barely depriv'd, wou'd have been avoided.

34. To affirm, as the Nonjurors do, that the Magistrate cannot deprive a Bishop but by taking away his Life, is to fay, he cannot remove some part of the Punishment, which he might justly exact, without remitting the whole; and may provoke him to proceed to Extremity in order to make his Sentence of Deprivation take ef-

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fect. Yet 'tis not by Death only, that the Chap. 1. Magistrate can deprive a Bishop, but by perpetual Imprisonment or Banishment, with a prohibition to all the rest of his Subjects of corresponding with him; because then all the Christians of that Bishop's District, as well as all others, are bound in Conscience to avoid Correfpondence with him all his Life. To suppose the Spiritual Authority of the Bishop over his Flock independent of the Magistrate, as founded on a distinct Charter; and yet to suppose it so precarious, that he can take it from him by virtue of, or as a Confequence of his fecular Authority, is to suppose the Bishop's Power distinct from, and independent of the Magistrate's Power, and at the same time subject to, and at the mercy of it. But the handling this Point fully being fo essential for determining the Controversy, I hope the Reader will not think I infift too long on it, tho before I part with it I demand,

35. Whether the Clergy, when they excommunicate for things of a Civil Nature, such as Wills, Administration of Personal Estates, &c. act by a Power deriv'd from Christ, or from the Magistrate? If from the former, why do not all other Matters relate to their Cognizance as well as these? for why are Personal Estates more of an Ecclesiastical Nature than Real? Or to give another Instance, why are the most gross and carnal Causes, such as Fornication, Adultery, &c. more spiritual than others? And if these belong to their Ecclesiastical

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Jurisdiction, why not all? Which must exclude the Magistrate, since both cannot have a Right to judg concerning the same But if in these Civil Causes. Matters. they judg by a Power deriv'd from him. they are no more than his Deputys and Ministers; and consequently have no Right to judg, or inflict any Punishment, which he, by whose Authority they act, bestows not on 'em. And therefore if the Power of Excommunication did not belong to him, he cou'd not give them a Right to use it. And 'tis plain they have none of their own in these Matters, because where they have no Right to exercise a judicial Power, they can have none to excommunicate, or inflict any other Punishment: And therefore it necessarily follows, that whence they derive the one, they must the other.

36. Again, the Magistrate can have no Right to use Force, except as he has the Supreme Power: for where that belongs to the Priests, he can be no more than their Deputy, or rather (since they allow no Layman capable of that) their Executioner; but they having no Right to Force, cannot impower him to use it. Therefore, without disowning he has any such Power in Ecclesiasticals, as well as a Right to authorize them to excommunicate in Civils, they cannot deny his Supremacy in both; and consequently that they have no Power in the Nature 10 to 10 to

tional Church not deriv'd from him.

37. Obj. It may be faid, That the God has given the Clergy the Government of the Church, yet he has oblig'd the Magistrate to

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Answ. If the Magistrate is to assist the Governors of the Church, as the Clergy call themselves, it can be in those Matters only to which his Power extends; for as to any other he is no more than a private Perfon, and therefore can have no Right to issue out Writs de excommunicato capiendo, or any otherwise to punish a Person for being cenfur'd by the Clergy: fince his Power reaches not to Excommunication, nor to the Causes for which they inflict it; and confequently in punishing for these things, if they belong not to his Cognizance, he punishes unjustly. And therefore the Clergy in Scotland act now very confiftently, in not fuffering the Magistrate to back their Spiritual Excommunication with any Temporal Force. To go further than this, and affirm that the Publick is bound to employ their Force in executing the Decrees of the Clergy, necessarily supposes they have a Right to command it; and that the Magistrate, as well as the rest of the Laity, is only their Executioner, being oblig'd right or wrong to enforce their Commands: For the Magistrate must act ministerially, if he executes not his Own but Another's Laws, and can have no more Power than what he derives from that Legislature. But if you fay it is his own Laws he executes, then the Clergy, like other private Persons, can offer Advice only; of which he is to judg, and enact or not enact according to Discretion.

If you fay, he is not to judg but enforce, then the Absurdity you wou'd avoid will return, that the Clergy have a Right to command the force of the Society; and that the Magistrate acts as their Minister only, and can have no Right to use Force unless they cou'd give it him. The Popish Clergy speak plain in this Matter, and declare, that if the Magistrate does not obey the Commands of the Church in extirpating all those they judg to be Hereticks, he forfeits his Dominions. But others most grosly contradict themselves: for first they say, that all Ecclesiastical Matters belong by Divine Right to their judicial Cognizance, as they are Governors of the Church, and that the Magistrate cannot meddle with 'em without Sacrilege; and yet at the same time they tell him it's his Duty to make Laws, and put those Laws in execution, in all Ecclesiastical Matters whatever. But if one Prince shou'd defire another to come into his Country, and there execute a Legislative and Executive Power in all things belonging to his Cognizance; this wou'd not be demanding his Affiftance, but giving up his whole Power! and he wou'd be guilty of the most appatent Contradiction, if he shou'd afterwards fay that the Prince he has thus empower'd was only a private Person, and his Subject; and con'd not without Sacrilege meddle with any thing which belong'd to his Cognizance. And is not this the very fame which too many of the Protestant Clergy affirm?

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to, as they never want one on occasion, is, That the Magistrate, tho he has no Ecclefiastical Power, has all Civil Power in Eccle-

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If the word Civil had been omitted, it had been a direct Contradiction; and if adding that makes any Alteration, it must be because Civil is oppos'd to Ecclesiastical; and then 'tis as good Sense as if they had talk'd of his Maritime Power in Ecclesiafticals. What they aim at by this fenfeless Distinction, is, that they would engross the whole Power to themselves: but because they cannot come directly at Force. the Magistrate shall promulgate, but they shall first decree; he shall enforce, but it must be their Determinations. So that the Civil Supremacy they complement him with, is to be their Tool, and Instrument to execute, on pain of their Ecclefiastical Displeasure, whatever they com-This, as (a) James the First justly expresses it, is to transfer the King (and I may add Parliament too) into a standing Image; yea to bring him down to the basest Condition, to become only the Executioner, and (what I scorn to speak) the unhappy Hangman of the Clergy's Will. And in truth, after the extravagant Complements they usually bestow on Sovereign Princes, to deal thus with 'em, is so great a Mockery, that it was never outdone by any,

<sup>(</sup>a) King James's Works, p. 428.

the Knee, and worship'd our Saviour, crying, Hail King of the Jews, and then cru-

cify'd him.

39. It possibly will be said, I have all this while been doing these Gentlemen a great deal of wrong; since it evidently appears they are so far from setting up two Independent Powers in the same Kingdom, that they would have no manner of Power Independent

except their own.

I answer, 'Tis very true, they as little believe such a System practicable, as they desire it shou'd be so. But they think it the best Policy, as things now stand, to complement the Civil Government with a Power, which in spite of 'em it actually exercifes and enjoys; and at the same time to keep up the continual Claim and Pretence of fuch a Power in themselves. So that till they can recover their Privileges in as ample a manner as in some neighbouring Countrys, they are gracioully pleat'd in the mean time to banter the Magistrate with the same Conditions which Trincalo allow'd his Competitor Stephano, when he told him, You shall indeed be Viceroy, provided I be Viceroy over you.

My Design therefore is to expose the Weakness and Vanity of this idle Shift and wretched Subterfuge, to which they only have recourse as a Shelter in stormy Weather, and are sure to throw off, as soon as the glorious Sunshine of their Im Divinum administers not only means of

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Safety, but matter of Triumph for 'em to Chap. 1.' appear without disguise. Then will it be their proper turn to shew the Absurdity of two Independent Powers, and to demonstrate the Impossibility of a Penetration (if I may so call it) of Bodys Politick. Then will they tell us, that they admitted this Notion only for the Hardness of our Hearts, and to comply with the Necessities of the Times, and the Usurpations of an Apostate and Degenerate Age. But,

40. The it shou'd be allow'd, that the Clergy have no Legislative, Independent, or Supreme Power, since there cannot be two Legislators in the same Society; yet may they not have a furifdiction or coercive Power, which they derive not from the Society, nor their Representatives,

but from God himself?

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Answ. If the Clergy have no Legislative Power, they cannot be Governors of the Church; because there can be no Government without it, to which all Jurisdiction necessarily adheres. For whoever has any coercive Power, must be either a Legislator himself, or else act by virtue of a Power deriv'd from him whose Minister he then is, and whose Will he executes; for the doing of which he can have no more than a precarious Right, dependent on the Pleasure of the Legislator. So that 'tis imif the Clergy have no Legislation, possible they shou'd have any Jurisdiction, except, like others, they derive it from the Legislators; fince a Right to inflict Punishment can only accrue to a Legislator:

on the Breach of his Laws, of which he may either judg in Person, or by a Deputy: but without this no Man is capable of Jurisdiction, because where there is no Power to make Laws, there can be no Pretence to punish for Breach of Laws. And therefore not only the Magistrate's, but even God's Right to inflict Punishment is built on his Right to Legislation; and all Sin or Guilt, and confequently all Punishment, supposes Breach of Law. But what Breach of Law, Disobedience, Contempt or Contumacy (the usual Pretence for Excommunication) is there in not submitting to the Decrees of the Clergy, when their very pretending to Legislation is Treason against their Sovereign, and a gross Usurpation on the Rights of their Fellow-Subiects?

41. And yet without this Power 'tis impossible they shou'd be able to bestow any Ecclesiastical Office, even where there is no Jurisdiction annex'd to it; because as that is commanding the Person who has it to exercise it, so 'tis forbidding all others: And what is Commanding or Forbidding, except Legislation? The fame may be faid of Deprivation; because by it they render the Exercise of that Office, which before they had made a Duty, unlawful. And in giving or depriving one of an Ecclefiastical Office, they make it not only a Duty in the Person to execute or not execute it, but in others to join or not join with him. And what can Legislation do more than make a thing

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munication; for what can carry more of Legislation than the commanding every one of the Society to be the Executioners of their Sentence, by obliging em to shun and avoid the Person they excommunicate, on pain of the same Punishment?

43. To evade this 'tis faid, That the People are bound to avoid the Conversation of ill Men, and that the Clergy by their Excommu-

nication only declare this.

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Answ. If a Power in general to declare an ill Man is to be avoided, were all to which they pretend, every Lay and Private Person, who is oblig'd, as often as he fees occasion, to declare as much, might excommunicate. But this can be no manner of Pretence for erecting Courts of Judicature, and punishing Persons for Nonappearance, and all other Contempts of their Independent Jurisdiction, and Judicially pronouncing a Sentence of Excommunication against this or that Person, and by virtue of it obliging every one to shun all Converse with him, till they are pleas'd to absolve him; without giving 'em leave to judg whether he is guilty of the Crime for which they condemn him, or if guilty, whether he has sufficiently repented of it.

44. In a word, if the Clergy have no Legislative Power, nor are entrusted to put the Will of the Legislator in execution, they can only have a Right to advise; there being no Medium between that and Legis-

Legislation: Nor can they pretend to more in those things where there can be no Le. gislative Power, but every one is to jude for himfelf; and confequently in the man king Ecclefiaftical Laws or Persons, or inflicting Ecclesiastical Censures, or in the managing any other Ecclefiastical Matters, they can claim no more Power by Divine Right than any other Members of the Church.

Thus having prov'd in this Chapter, that the Clergy, for want of Legislation, have no Temporal or External coercive Power; I shall show in the next, that they have no Internal or Spiritual Jurisdiction given 'em wife Perion, who is a light, as shoot by the first because of the first because of the property of the state of the state

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That the Spiritualitys claim'd by the Clergy who set up for an Independency, are either such as are peculiar to the Divine Nature, or else were only bestow'd on the Apostles; and that both these serve em as a Pretence for invading the Rights of the People, and of their Representatives.

I. NOT to infift on what I have already prov'd, that if the Clergy have no Legislation, they have no Jurisdiction of any fort whatfoever; I fay, that their assuming to themselves a Jurisdiction, and terming it Internal, in contradistinction to the Magistrate's, which they call External, is only amusing the People with Words, and a Blind to make Men believe a Difference where there's none, in order to usurp a Power which belongs not to 'em. For the Church being a visible Society, the Actions of the Governors of it, when they use a coercive Power, must be as visible and external as any relating to the Commonwealth. As for instance, is not Excommunication as external as Outlawry? and Deprivation of EcEcclesiastical, as external as that of Civil Offices? Now as much as any human Punishment can be supposed to be invisible and internal, so much it loses of its chiefest Design, the terrifying others from committing the like; for which reason all Punishments are made as publick as can be.

2. But they fay, Theirs is Internal, because it binds the inward Man, and is obligatory in

foro Conscientiæ.

How this can ferve to distinguish their Power from the Magistrate's, I cannot understand; unless they destroy all Obligation to him on the account of Conscience; and, contrary to the Apostle's Rule, submit to him for fear only, and so make no Power except their own obliging in Conscience, knowing two such are a Contradiction. As taking it in this sense is invading the Rights of the Magistrate; so, if they mean by it a Power over the Conscience or Mind of Man, 'tis no less than usurping upon the Prerogative of God himself, in whose hands alone are the Hearts of Men to wind and turn as he pleases; in this he appoints none to be his Deputy or Vicegerent: here Man can only act ministerially, in trying to persuade by Reasons and Arguments; neither Excommunication, nor any other Punishment can reach the Understanding. And Men, when they most impiously endeavour to assume a Power over Conscience, the most they can do, is to make Hypocrites.

3. 'Tis said, The Punishment the Clergy inflict is not of the same nature with that of

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the Magistrate; because, tho the Sentence is Chap. 2. pronounc'd in this Life, yet Men chiefly find the effects of it in the next; and for that rea-

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All Punishment must be either Eternal or Temporal; the first can only belong to God himfelf (upon whom all things for their Duration depend) he alone knows who deferves it, and in what degree: So that no Man can have the Power to punish one eternally, or by any Action of his cause God to do so; because none can suffer in the next World, unless for breaking God's Laws, that is, by doing what God has forbid, or omitting what he has commanded. And therefore we need fear no Punishment hereafter on account of any Actions of the Priest; and consequently his Excommunicating, Curfing, Damning, Anathematizing, &c. cannot render a Man's Condition, as to the next World, worse than his own Actions, by which he must stand or fall, will make it: much less have the Clergy a Power to deliver any over to Satan, or shut Heaven's Gates against him, when his Actions do not deferve it; and when these do, they alone, not any of the Priests, do make him suffer. The more one is put in mind of his Duty, whether by a Lay or Clergyman, the greater, 'tis certain, his Punishment will be for not observing it: Yet then 'tis not another's putting him in mind of his Duty, but his own Neglect in not following it, which is the cause of it.

4. In short, since 'tis most evident that God will either reward or punish Men as their Actions deserve, the Clergy, with respect to t'other World, can only have a Declarative Power, to assure 'em that God will deal with 'em as they have or have not observ'd his Laws: which is no more than what they share in common with the rest of Mankind, who, as they see occasion, are to remind one another of the Consequence of good and bad Actions; tho 'tisa Clergyman's more peculiar Business, as set apart and maintain'd by the Society for that end.

5. If the Clergy have a greater Power than this, it must be Judicial; since betweeen that and Declaratory there's no Medium: for where they cannot themselves judg, they can only declare the Judgment of another. If there be then a Judicial Power, they can fave or damn as they think fit; and God is bound to execute their Sentences, tho they condemn a Good and abfolve an Ill Man; because a Sentence pronounc'd by a competent Authority is Valid, tho 'tis not Right: and consequently it wou'd be no great matter how People liv'd, cou'd they at last obtain absolution from these Judges, to whom (on this Supposition) Men ought to pay Divine Worship rather than to God himself; since the Power of Danning and Saving is in them, and God himself is no more than their Executioner.

6. By what's faid, 'tis plain, that if by Internal or Spiritual, the Clergy mean Eternal,

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Eternal, they cannot without the most hor-Chap. 2. rid Blasphemy pretend to such a coercive Power; and to let up for any External or Temporal Power, wou'd be to contradict themselves, since by their own Confession this belongs to the Magistrate. But, if they can find any Punishment which is neither Temporal or Eternal, neither inflicted in this or the next Life, let 'em with all my heart manage it as independently as they please, and under what Titles they think fit, provided they leave Eternal Punishment to God himself, and Temporal to those the People have entrusted with that But,

7. If Men scruple not thus to invade the Sacred and Incommunicable Power of God, 'tis not to be wonder'd that they encroach on the Natural Rights of the People, as well as the Magistrate's Prerogatives, and make one Usurpation a Pretence for t'other, as they most manifestly do in this case; fince they exclude both from having any thing in the ordering of Church-Matters, and from the Incapacity of executing any Ecclefiaftical Office or Employ, because fay they, the Power they have not, of the Keys: By which 'tis plain they do not mean a Declarative Power, because that being common to all, cou'd be no Pretence for excluding them. sides, if they meant only that, why do they affert upon all occasions, that the Punilhment they cause to be inflicted by their Excommunication, as far exceeds the fevereit the Magistrate can make men suffer, F 3

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as the Torments of the next World do those of this? And to persuade People these are the Essects of it, they will suffer none, who die under this Cenfure, to have a Christian Burial; nay, it was not unfrequent in former times to inflict Spiritual Censures on dead Persons, and there have been Synods which have declar'd in particular who are liable to be fo punish'd; as that (a) Synod of Carthage, which anathematiz'd a Bishop after his death, for making an Infidel or Heretick, tho ever fo

near of kin, his Heir. And,

8. 'Tis plain, that 'tis a Judicial Power they pretend to, by the several Forms of Excommunication which have from time to time been us'd in the Church; of which we have good store in Mr. Selden de Synedriis, especially Lib. 1. cap. 10. to instance only in one, and that establish'd by a Council at Roan, mention'd by Ivo, and Buchardus, which runs thus: " (b) By the Power and Authority which God has committed " to our Meanness, to bind and loose both in Heaven and in Earth, we shut M.N. out of the Pale of the Church, as well in Heaven as in Earth, and decree him

(a) Can. 81. ab Exiguo collect.

<sup>(</sup>b) Nostræ Mediocritatis authoritate & potestate nobis divinitus collată, ligandi & solvendi in cœlo& in terris, a limitibus sancta matris Ecclesiæ in cœlo & in terris excludimus, & excommunicatum & anathematizatum effe decernimus, & damnatum cum Diabolo & Angelis ejus, & omnibus Reprobis in igre atemo Judicamus, &c. ce Excom-

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" Excommunicated and Anathematiz'd, and Chap. 2. " fentence him to be damn'd with the Devil " and his Angels, and all wicked Men in " Hell-fire to all Eternity. 'Tis by virtue of this Judicial Power, that the Clergy exalt the meanest Priest as much above the greatest Prince, as Heaven is above Earth. The Learned Mr. Dodwel, as he affirms "that Paran. de " both the Greek and Latin Churches did Schism. " agree in making the Bishops superior to Anglic. "Kings; fo he fays, They laid the Founda-p. 222. " tion of their Superiority on the Authority " they had of binding in the next World; " and that it was by virtue of this Power " that St. Ambrofe drove the Emperor Theo-" dosius the Great from the Chancel of the " Clergy (with whom it feems he was fo prefumptuous as to pretend to fit.) " And " he thinks that all indifferent Judges must " prefer the Power of obliging God to open " and shut Heaven's Gates, according to the " Sentence of the Bishop, before a thousand "Kingdoms. Is a onw , 100 and a will 9. The most Celebrated St. Chrysoftom (to mention no other) fays, " Earthly Princes Lib 3. de " have power indeed to bind, but'tis our Sacerdot. " Bodys only; but the Power of Priests " touches also our very Souls, yea it reaches

"touches also our very Souls, yea it reaches even to Heaven it self, in such fort, as whatsoever they determine here beneath, that God does ratify above, confirming the Sentence of his Servants on Earth. And what will you say then of this, but that all Heavenly Power is granted to the Priests

" in this World? And in another place, Homil. 5.

The Lord follows the Servant, Heaven

fore the University

" waits and expects the Priest's Sentence By Spar- But more Authoritys of this kind are to row's Ser- be found in a late reprinted Sermon, which, folution and agreeably to this Doctrine, censures the Dif-Confession, use of Auricular Confession. And in so depreach'd be- sperate a Condition do the Priests Suppose one bound by them to be, that they reckon it unlawful, not only to pray with him, of Cambr. but for him; which wou'd be against all the Rules of Charity, were he not in fuch a State as made all Prayers for him to no purpose. So that 'tis plain they claim a Judicial Power, and by virtue of it the Government of the Church, and thereby (pardon the Expression) become Traitors both to God and Man. .

10. Some fay that the natural Idea of these words, By Authority committed unto, &c. I absolve thee from thy Sins, is, that the Priest has a Power of pardoning 'em And what helps to confirm 'em in this Opinion is, as they fay, that 'tis not permitted to a Deacon, who is allow'd to have Authority enough for the rest of the Prayers, to pronounce this, or any other Form of Absolution \* . Mr. Johnson upon the

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<sup>\*</sup> The Bp of Sarum supposes, that the the Idea naturally arising from these words, I absolve thee, Gc. is, that the Priest pardons Sins, yet we of this Church understand by it only the full Peace and Pardon of the Church; and that this Form, scarce known till the 14th Century, became in little more than fixty year's the universal Practice of the whole Latin Church. So fure a thing, adds he, is Tradition, and so impossible to be chang'd, as the Papists presend, that within the compass of one Age the new Form, I absolve thee, was not so much as generally known; and before the end of it, the old Form of doing it in a Prayer with Impolition of Hands, was quite worn out. Exp. of Artic.p. 283,284; Mefficurs

Messieurs of Port-royal saying on this Text, Chap. 2. Prov. 28. 15. As a roaring Lion and a ranging Bear, so is a wicked Ruler over the poor People, iln' appartinent que de Dieu dire des verites si etonantes; replies, "That God is so good Authority, that any Man may safely say such astonishing Truths after him. Which I may apply to this Point, and say, that if the Clergy mean by their Absolving Power, only a declaring that God will pardon a penitent Sinner; God is certainly so good an Authority, that any one, as well as a Priest, may venture to affirm such a Comforting Truth after him.

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Clergymen, when they are press'd hard with the Absurditys of a Judicial Power, acknowledg that an unjust Judgment of theirs has no effect; yet then they fay, tis not for want of fuch a Power, but because the Sentence was pronounc'd, clave errante, as they phrase it. But if God will not reward a Good, or punish an Ill Man, more or less for their Decrees; what can be more abfurd than to call that a Judicial Power, which has no manner of Effect or Operation? Who is there that might not as well pretend to fuch a Power with relation to this World; and upon gueffing at the Doom of a Prisoner, tho he cou'd no ways alter it, cry, that he either judg'd clave errante or non errante? But if a Man. who on no better Pretence than this, invaded the Rights of the Magistrate and of his Fellow-Subjects, ought to be punish'd as a fensless impudent Impostor; what must

he deserve, who does the same thing on the most impious Pretence which can be, that of claiming a Judicial Power with respect

to the next World?

11. In short, the Clergy have no Pretence for claiming an Independent Jurif. diction, which is not either invading the Incommunicable Rights of God, or elfe affuming fuch a Miraculous Power as belong'd to the Apostles: of which I shall give an Instance or two. The People, fay they, cannot make a Clergyman, because they cannot give the Holy Ghoft; this being a Privilege peculiar to themselves, and essential to the Being of a Clergyman. I wou'd gladly know of these Gentlemen what they mean by Giving the Holy Ghoft: His Person, I suppose, they will not pretend to dispose of; and then they can only mean his Gifts, either Extraordinary or Ordinary. If the first, then they can bestow the Gift of Miracles, such as Prophefying, fpeaking with Tongues, restoring the Blind or Lame, and curing Diftempers with a Touch or Word's speaking, &c. As to the second, if they can bestow the ordinary Gifts, as Meekness, Patience, Love, Charity, Moderation, Humility, &c. no Clergyman wou'd be without these, fince all have the Holy Ghoft given 'em. Plainly the Clergy cannot now pretend a Right to the disposing of the Extraordic nary Gifts of the Holy Spirit, unless they had a Power equal to that of the Apolles (who bestow'd 'em alike on the Laity as well as on the Clergy) nor to the Ordinary, with-

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without assuming a Power greater than Chap. 2. These being the Gifts of God alone, referv'd for those who by their Lives and Conversations make themselves meet to receive 'em. But if by giving the Holy Ghost be here only meant giving a Right to exercise an Ecclesiastical Office; to fay no others can give fuch a Right because they cannot bestow the Holy Ghost, is only faying they cannot give a Right because they cannot, both fignifying the fame thing: And if they mean any thing more by giving the Holy Ghoft, as necesfary to the Being of a Clergyman, there has been none fince the Apostles time. And therefore I shou'd be glad to see some good Reason assign'd, why Ordaining a Clergyman is by fome call'd Giving the Holy Ghost; sure it cannot be in order to cheat the People of their Right, and create in mens Minds a Veneration for the Clergy at present, equal to what they have for the Apostles. The Bishop of (g) Sarum, tho he confesses "that the Use of the " Form of giving Orders by these words, " Receive ye the Holy Ghost, is not above " 500 Years old, and is taken from Words " of our Saviour, which the Church in her " best Times thought were not apply'd to this, the proper for Him to use who " had the Fulness of the Spirit to give " at pleasure; and therefore seems to " have a Sound too bold and too assuming,

<sup>(</sup>E) Exposition of the 36th Article.

"as if we cou'd convey the Holy Ghost. Tho he, I say, grants this, yet he endeavours to justify this Form, and supposes it to be in the nature of a Wish or Prayer: but no Man's Wishes or Prayers that another may receive the Holy Ghost, can be a reason to debar those to whom it of course belongs from making of Clergymen; and I hope the Magistrate, or any one else, without being guilty of Sacrilege, may pretend to bestow the Holy Spirit, if nothing else is meant by that solemn Expression, Receive ye the Holy Ghost, besides wishing the Clergy to be better than they are.

ting a Bishop; for if by it they mean, they can bestow any Holiness on him, or give any Gifts of the Spirit, either Ordinary or Extraordinary, nothing can be more false; But if they pretend only to pray to God that he will give the Bishop sufficient Holiness to execute his Office rightly, that can be no reason for them to engross the making him to themselves.

that the Popish Clergy make very bold with the three Persons of the Sacred Trinity. The First they employ as their Executioners, to put their Judicial Sentences in sorce. The Second they make out of a bit of Bread, and then eat him (tho there are others who allow this Privilege to the Teeth of the Faithful only.) The Third they very freely dispose of, at least his Gifts, to all they lay hands on; tho there

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are some who say, that if the Popish Chap. 2. Priests have any Spirit bestow'd on 'em in their going into Orders, 'tis that of the Priest of Apollo, when full of the God he cry'd,

Jam furor humanum nostro de pectore sensum Expulit, & totum spirant pracordia Phabum.

And that what share soever they might have of the Holy Spirit before Ordination, they then are possess'd of no other Spirit than that of Pride, Ambition, Covetousness, Uncharitableness, Imposition, Malice, Revenge, Persecution, &c. And they say this is no wonder, when in so serious a Concern as making of Bishops and Priests, both the Ordain'd and the Ordainers in that Church act with so solemn a Mockery, one in pretending a Call from, and the other in

giving the Holy Ghost.

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As this by no means ought to be objected to the Clergy of the Church of England, fo I hope that which some of 'em act at the Election of a Bishop, is no manner of kin to this Holy Farce of the Papists, in imploring the Direction of the Holy Ghost to chuse a fit Person, tho they are refolv'd beforehand to proceed according to the Direction of the Conge d'elire, and name only him whom they are bound to take by that Writ. And agreeable with this was the Bishop Elect's folemnly declaring three times (a Custom now discontinu'd) Nolo episcopari; no small piece of Hypocrify, except he spoke it with with relation to the Duty, and not to the Honor or Profit of the Place; for herein he was too often as good as his word.

not to digrefs:

14. A Clergy-man, 'tis faid, is God's Embassador, therefore the People neither Collective or Representative can make one, because they have no power to fend Embassadors from Heaven. But taking Embassadors in that sense, it will, I'm afraid, prove there are now no Clergy-men; fince they who pretend to the fole Power of making 'em, can as little fend an Embassador from God, who alone chuses his own Embassadors.

Christ, and his Apostles, as they were commission'd by God, so they brought their Credentials with 'em visible to Mankind, viz. the Power of working Miracles: But what Credential, or what Mission can these Gentlemen pretend to? or what Gofpel, never before known to the World, are they to discover? Are they not at the best only Commentators, Note-makers, or Sermon-makers on those Doctrines which the Embassadors of God once deliver'd to the Saints? which many of 'em have render'd by their absurd Glosses and false Comments fo perplext and intricate, that only a new Commission from Heaven seems able to set 'em in their due Light; yet they do not scruple to call their Pulpit-Speeches, the Word of God, and apply those Texts to themfelves, which belong only to the Embassadors of God.

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15. But let them consider, if he who Chap. 2. feigns a Commission from an Earthly King, and acts as his Embassador without having Authority from him, deserves a severe Punishment; what must they expect, who fallly pretend a Commission from Heaven. and to be no less than the Embassadors of God to Mankind? on whose Wisdom 'tis no finall Reflection to imagine he has chofen fuch Persons to represent him. Tho if we will take one of the Treason-absolving Priest's words for it, (h) Every Priest is one of the principal Ministers in God's Kingdom, to preside in his Worship, publish his Laws, pass his Pardons, and represent his Per-I do not wonder that Men fo fanguine, as to think thus of themselves, are puff'd up with intolerable Pride and Infolence; and that they look down with Scorn and Contempt on the simple Laity, who (poor Men) can hope for no Absolution, if some of these principal Ministers in God's Kingdom will not vouchfafe to pass their Pardons.

And in truth, a Man cannot well help being strangely elated in his Thoughts, to find himself exalted he knows not how (perhaps from a poor Servitor, and running on College-Errants) to so great and glorious Preferment, as to be a prime Minister in God's Kingdom, to represent no less than the Person of the Omnipresent Being, to be able to dispose of the Holy

Ghoft,

<sup>(</sup>h) Collier's View of the Immorality of the Stage, p. 127, 128.

Ghost, to have the Keys of Heaven and Hell at his Girdle: and as a Consequence of this, to have Kings and Emperors, as well as the Mass of Mankind, render him Spiritual Obedience. So great, so miraculous a Power confer'd by the formality of laying hand over head on a Man, tho ever so vile and unworthy, is sufficient to make him, if weak enough to believe it, vain, giddy and insolent. But,

Were it not for these extravagant, wild and profane Notions (which some call their Spiritualitys) nothing can be plainer than that all Ecclesiastical Power has no other Foundation than the Consent of the Society. To instance in the two chief Points, the making of Clergymen, and Excommu-

nication. As to the first;

16. What's more requir'd to give one a Right to exercise the Office of a Minister in any particular Congregation, than an Agreement among them to chuse a Person capable, and willing to take upon him that Function, and confent to hear him fay Prayers, preach, and administer the Sacraments? And what is depriving or depofing him, except agreeing not to hear him any longer, or own him any more for their Minister? And this private Churches may do by a Right natural to all Societys whatfoever, fince 'tis only a Liberty of their own Actions in hearing, or not hearing fuch a Person pray or preach, or in receiving or not receiving the Sacraments from him. And this they must have had a Right to do, before

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before National Churches came in use: for Chap. 2. till then, as no Minister nam'd his Successor, fo each Congregation being independent of another, and the Magistrate not interpofing, must have had a Right of constituting their own Ministers, and of ordering all other Church-matters; and no other cou'd be concern'd than by their Confent and Approbation. So that here's no room for the independent Power of any Set of Priests: And as little is there for it in a National Church, which only the Legislature of that Nation can constitute; and consequently one cannot suppose a National Church, without allowing the Magistrate the Power of dividing it into Parishes, Diocesses, Provinces, or otherwise modelling it as he thinks fit, and of determining the Form of Ecclefiastical Government, and the Qualifications of fuch as are to be admitted into any Ecclefiastical Benefices under that Form; and upon what Terms they shall hold their Livings, and who shall have the Power of depriving 'em, and putting others in their room; and likewise, of making Laws about all other matters relating to the National Church, and appointing who shall put their Laws in Execution. And therefore the Clergy, who contend not only for the Lawfulness but Necessity of National Churches, give up all their Pretences to an independent Power in every thing relating to 'em, even in the most speculative and mysterious Points: for if they allow that the Magistrate can enact, that no Person shall enjoy any Preferment in the National

tional Church, who does not profess such or fuch Articles, they cannot deny him a Power to deprive any who shall disown'em; because 'tis only putting those Laws they acknowledg he has a Power to make, in Execution; and by whomfoever he does this whether Lay or Clergy, they act as his Deputys, fince a Church, as 'tis Politicalor National, is a part of the Civil Constitution. And none can doubt of this, who confider that 'tis only the different Sentiments of the Supreme Powers in every Nation, which make the National Churches, or Religions establish'd by Law, to be so infinitely different: and by the reasoning of the Generality of the Clergy, every Man is oblig'd to be of the National Church, because they every where plead for the Magistrate's having a Right to punish all his Subjects as Schismaticks who are not of it. 'tis a forry evalion to fay the Magistrate has this Right only, when the National Church is the true Church; because True Church, till apply'd to some particular Church, is only an abstracted Notion: which if every one is to apply for himself, the Magistrate has no more power in this case than any other; but if he has the applying it for his Subjects, then a Right to punils 'em for not being of the True Church, or of the Church he judges to be True, is the fame thing; and confequently must every where alike oblige People to be of the National Church, or every where alike fubject 'em to Punishment; and accordingly we see 'tis every where urg'd by the Priests who

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who are uppermost. But to return: Chap. 2. 17. The Point next to be consider'd is the power of Excommunication, which the Clergy pretend gives 'en a Right to debar Men not only from the Ghurch, but from all Civil Converse and Society. Yet Men in the state of Nature, as they had a Right of keeping, or not keeping company with whom they thought fit (this being only a Liberty of their own Actions) fo upon their changing that State, they had the fame Right of investing the Magistrate with a power of restraining this as well as any other Liberty; and of obliging them for just Reasons to avoid Converse with this or And I can fee no Caufe why that Person. the Clergy may not as well pretend to use Force, as to exclude whom they think fit from converfing with the rest of the Society, as they do even about Civil and Temporal Affairs: because a liberty of Mens Actions in Conversing or not Converfing, was certainly as much in their Power, as a Right to use Force on others; and confequently, when they form'd themselves into a Body Politick, they cou'd entrust the Magistrate with one as well as the other.

18. But fince the Magistrate cannot prescribe to all Men what Company they shall keep or avoid, they will still retain fo much Liberty as to have that, in all those Cases where he does not interpose, in their own disposal; as 'tis plain from the practice of all private Societys, Companys and Clubs, who daily exclude those Members

bers who act not conformably to the Rules

they have agreed on.

19. And it was by this Natural Right that the Primitive Christians acted; fince at first for some Centurys, the Consent of the whole Congregation was requir'd, and every Member had a Vote in Excommunication: and this is naturally fo vefted in the Community, that he who goes about to excommunicate them or a Majority, is And here it ought to himself the Sufferer. be remember'd, that there is an infinite difference between private Men agreeing among themselves to refuse their Fellow. ship to any Member of their Society for breaking their common Rules, and one's having an arbitrary Power to exclude from all Communion Ecclesiastical and Civil of a whole Nation, not to fay of all Christendom, whom he pleases, and as long as he pleases; every one fees this wou'd be dividing the Sovereignty, and by degrees subjecting all to himself.

having this Power, is, that 'tis necessarily annex'd to the Right they have of turning Men out of the Church of Christ, the ordinary way of Salvation, and of delivering 'em over to Satan; because it must needs be an impious thing in the Laity, to countenance with their Conversation, Men so dealt with; since conversing with 'em is a Crime next to keeping company with Satan himself. But,

21. Having already prov'd that the Clergy have no Power in relation to the

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next World, I shall only further add, that Chap. 2. the Design of all Ecclesiastical Punishment was, as I thought, to bring Men into, and not turn them out of the ordinary way of Salvation: This an ill Man is apt to do of himself, without the assistance of a Priest. That a Minister of Satan shou'd be zealous for his Master's Service, and endeavour to put into his Clutches as many as he cou'd, is no wonder; but that they who pretend to be the Ministers of Christ, and whose business it is to free Men from his Power, shou'd claim no less than a Divine Right to do this, is wholly aftonishing: Which attempt of theirs, tho it certainly can have no effect on others, yet how it will operate on themselves, I will not further determine, than by putting 'em in mind, that the Scripture assures us, Men shall be judg'd as they judg, and the measure they mete to others shall be measur'd to them again. But however this may affect 'em hereafter, it must (cou'd they once get it firmly believ'd) make all things here their own; for Men wou'd be glad to compound for all they have in this World (especially when they are going to leave it) not to be debar'd the Happiness of the next.

22. Obj. Perhaps it may be faid, Tho the Clergy have no Spiritual Coercive Power (if by that be meant a Power which extends to the next World) yet may they not be able in this

Life to inflict a Spiritual Punishment?

Answ. Tho what has been already faid is sufficient to prove they have no Coercive Power at all; yet lest they should amuse

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People with Words, and claim what Power they have a mind to, by calling it Spiritual; I fay, no Punishment can be other. wife Spiritual, than as it tends to hinder Wickedness: and if this did belong to the Clergy, they wou'd have a Right not only to punish for all Crimes whatsoever, but to use the most forcible Means: because Punishment, having no tendency to convince the Understanding, but to curb the Passions only, what is most powerful to that end, must be most Spiritual; that being the only reason why any Punishment can be call'd fo: and confequently, if any other Punishment be more effectual to that end than Excommunication, it must be more Spiritual. If the killing Anania, putting out Elimai's Eyes, and the causing People to be tormented in their Bodys, which in Scripture is call'd delivering over to Satan, were then Spiritual Punishments; there's no reason they are not so now, if inflicted for the same or as proper ends: for its being by an Ordinary or Extraordinary Power does not alter the nature of the Punishment. Christ's whipping the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, was truly a spiritual Punishment; but the Jewish Priests excommunicating those who believ'd in him was far from being so, except it may deferve that name for advancing the spiritual Kingdom of Darkness; to which Excommunication, ever fince the Clergy have claim'd an independent Right to it, has been most instrumental.

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23. The Clergy affirm, that if they had Chap. 2. not the Power to exclude Men from the Church, its Unity cou'd not be preferv'd, nor Divisions or Schisms prevented: which is in effect to say that the way to keep Men in the Church, and thereby preferve its Unity, is to divide the Church, by turning 'em out of it; and that the separating Men from the Church is a proper Course to prevent Schism in it: Just as good sense, as to affirm, that the putting Men out of the common road of Salvation, is the way to save 'em.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. III.

That the Clergy's pretending to have a Divine Right to exclude People from the Church of Christ is as absurd, as their claiming a Power to debar 'em from the Publick Worship is uncharitable: And that this Custom was borrow'd from the Heathen Priests, particularly the Druids. Of the Advantages they gain'd by it.

Rules of Charity to exclude Men from the Church, if that be, as the Clergy contend, depriving 'em of the means of eternal Happiness; since they affirm that they, who are not in Communion with 'em, are out of the Pale of the Church, and out of that there's no visible means of Salvation. If so, nothing can be more uncharitable than depriving People of all the known Means of being sav'd.

2. But since Men cannot be turn'd out of any Church, for such matters of Doctrine

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or Discipline as are no Terms of Commu-Chap. 3. nion; and for those which are, as soon as one is convinc'd they are unlawful, if he acts confcientiously, he will voluntarily renounce all Communion with that Church: and tho nothing can be more common, or more ridiculous, than to pretend by Excommunication to turn out of a Church those who never were of it, or have left it; yet none can properly be faid to be excluded from any Church, except he who approves its Terms of Communion, and is willing to continue a Member of it: and therefore it can only be for wicked and immoral Actions that one can be hindred from joining with the Church in the Publick Worship of God. But,

3. What can be more unaccountable, than to hinder a Man from performing one part of his Duty (especially so great a one as the Publick Worship of God) because he has fail'd in another? or if he has offended God publickly, what can be more abfurd than to debar him from as publickly defiring his Pardon? But if the not doing one Duty can make amends for the breach of another, he who neglects the Divine Service, ought to be debar'd from doing his Duty to his Neighbour, and so vice versa; so that a Man by omitting the Laws of either Table, wou'd be oblig'd to observe neither. But the greater Sinner one is, there's the less reason to debar him from hearing fuch Sermons, as are made up of Reasons to persuade him to his Duty both to God and Man. And he ought to be frequently told, that till he repents he

is in a state of Damnation, tho not excluded from the Publick Worship: whereas on the contrary, as much as he is perfuaded that his being punish'd in the next World depends upon the Clergy's judicially excluding him the Church, fo much it lessens his Belief of the heinousness of Sin, and tempts him to contrive, not how to avoid the Sin, but how to fin in private; or elfe fo to ingratiate himself with the Clergy, as not to be turn'd out of the Church: Which as it wou'd make it their Interest that Men shou'd sin in abundance, because then they wou'd have 'em at their mercy, and in a manner be under a necessity of complying with 'em in all things; fo it wou'd encourage People, especially their Favorites, to gratify all their loofe Defires; and confequently this Notion, instead of promoting Religion, is a most admirable contrivance to spoil both Priest and People. But,

4. What Pretence can there be for hindering a Sinner from publickly praying to God to have his Sins forgiven, and to he inabled by his Grace to perform those Dutys he is so apt to fail in? If he is to do this in private (nay the greater the Sinner is, the more reason he has to do it) why not in publick? fince that is own'd to be a greater Duty, and more likely to prevail with God. So, why may not he praise God in publick for the Mercys he receives here, and may hereafter, if he observes this as well as other Dutys? Or why may not he publickly express his Gratitude to Christ, by commemorating his Death, fince our Saa

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from the Lord's Supper, is what the Clergy chiefly infift on, yet they generally talk very inconfiftently about it: for sometimes they will tell you, 'tis the most dreadful Punishment that can be, infinitely greater than any the Magistrate can inflict; yet at other times they are so far from making it a Punishment, that they say, 'tis a greater kindness than denying a mad Man a Sword to kill himself, for one wou'd only destroy his Body, but t'other his Soul; and God forbid they shou'd be any ways instrumental.

6. In fhort, Men must be in such Circumstances as make their receiving either a Crime, or a Duty, or a thing indifferent. If the First, the Clergy's Refusal can have nothing of Punishment in it, because 'tis only refusing to contribute to another's Sin, which is every one's Duty to avoid as well as a Clergyman's. If the Second, the Clergy can never have a Right to hinder a Man from doing his Duty; nay, the fupposing it his Duty necessarily supposes him, who cannot be forc'd to Impossibilitys, oblig'd to receive it, upon their refusal to administer it, without 'em; for the End cannot be a Duty, but the Means necessary to it must be so too. If the Third, then the Clergy only use a Liberty of their own Actions, in not doing what was in their Power either to do or refuse, and by which none

none is prejudic'd: fo that in none of these Cases is there any room or pretence for their

having any Jurisdiction.

7. Another thing as little accountable, is, that the Clergy, tho they pretend 'tis their Duty to exclude from the Sacrament those they judg unworthy, yet at the same time are for obliging all by Penal Laws to receive it, and for having none qualify'd for Preferment, who take it not of them: Which is either contradicting themselves, and owning none ought to be excluded from it; or else a Design to make whom they please to be punish'd, and likewise incapable of Preferment. The last of which High Church would fain at present set on foot, to supply the place of a Persecuting Bill which has happily miscarry'd. But,

8. Tho an immoral Person may be punish'd by Peoples shunning his Company and Conversation; because he who is govern'd by his brutal Passions, and retufes to live according to the common Law of Reason, has forfeited his Right to the Society of rational Creatures: Yet'tis contrary to the Rules of Charity, to hinder him from coming to Church; because by hearing good Sermons he may meet with strong and powerful Motives to perfuade him to leave his wicked Courses; and by feeing the real and fervent Devotion of good Christians, he wou'd be excited to the same himself; which, in my poor Judgment, is a likelier way to reclaim him, than the excluding him from the Means defign'd

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mant of which can only harden a Man in his Impenitence, and by degrees take from him all fense of Religion. And People's shunning as much as possible the Conversation of an ill Man, sufficiently shows they do not countenance him in his immoral Practices: so that there's no need to exclude him from Divine Service on that account. And 'tis thus treating him that's so grievous to him; for he who wou'd be well enough pleas'd to be dispens'd with from going to Church, cou'd not be much affected in being depriv'd of a Liberty he seldom or never us'd.

9. In brief, nothing can be a feverer Reflection than what many of the Clergy cast on themselves, and their own Profession; in supposing the best way to make a notorious Offender turn from his evil Courses, is to have nothing to do with their Ministry: and therefore he is to be hinder'd from hearing their Sermons, receiving the Sacrament from their hands, or coming near the Church where they officiate, lest by so doing he should be harden'd in his wicked and impenitent Condition; but instead of it, he is to be deliver'd over to Satan, as a fitter and properer Minister for his Con-

chiefly to fuch. But,

10. The Clergy were fo fond of the contrary Method, that they have forbid not
only

version: Whereas fince the Sick and not the Whole need the Physician, the Clergy shou'd, like our Saviour who frequently convers'd with Sinners, apply their Ministry only fingle Persons and Familys, but whole Provinces and Kingdoms, to worship God publickly. This Nation, for instance, was for above six Years together under an Interdict in King John's Time, which was taken off upon no other Terms than his submitting the Grown and Kingdom to the Pope, as Head of the Church, and becoming

his Vassal and Tributary.

11. To have the Doors of Churches flut, when 'tis to prevent the Worship of God from being performid in em, and yet to have 'em open as a Sanctuary for all forts of Rogues and Villains, gives a true tho faint Idea of the use the Priests, where they act independently, make of their pretended Spiritual Power, and of the Rights and Immunities of Holy Mothers And what heightens the Idea, is, to confider how they have, on pretence that Oaths are spiritual things, and so belong to their Jurisdiction, incouraged Perjury in the World, by absolving Subjects from their Oaths to their Sovereigns, and Sovereigns from theirs to one another, and to their Subjects; as the Pope in this Cafe did King John, who at the same time gave his Subjects to the Devil, for infifting on their just Rights and Privileges.

12. It may be here demanded, Why the Ctergy introduc'd so unaccountable a Custom, and which at first sight seems so little for their

Honour ?

For the fame reason, in all probability, that other Absurditys crept into Religion, To advance their Interest and Power. For had

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had Excommunication confifted, as at first, Chap. 3. in avoiding the Conversation of an ill Man, and perhaps placing him at fome distance from the rest of the Congregation, as the Excommunicated were among the lews, the Clergy could not well pretend any more Power in this matter, than the reft of the Church. But this was no ways agreeable to their Ambition, which cou'd only be fatisfy'd with Absolute Power; and therefore they made it their buliness to perfuade the People, that receiving the Lord's Supper was necessary to Salvation, and that only They had a Right to give it, being appointed by God the fole Judges, who fhou'd and who fhou'd not communicate; which was no less than claiming a Power of putting whom they pleas'd in a state of Damnation. And the more to incline People to think fo, they pretended a Right not only to exclude 'em from the Sacraments, but from all Church-Dutys; which they declar'd was turning Men out of the Church of Christ, the ordinary way of Salvation. But not content with this, which one wou'd think shou'd satisfy the most ambitious (since it was claiming a Divine Power, and fetting themselves in the place of God) they declar'd those they excommunicated ought to be shun'd and avoided by every one; because they ought not to converse with those the Divine Goodness does abhor, but shut 'em out of their Company, against whom they had shut Heaven's Gates: which was assuming to themselves a Power of making People most misera-

miserable here, as well as hereafter; ei. ther of which is fufficient to enflave the World, but both are intolerable. Yet the Clergy did not scruple to keep Men under this Bondage for five or ten Years, and fometimes for their whole Life; nor did they always absolve 'em at the time of their Death, tho they affirm'd nothing less than Damnation was the Portion of those who dy'd excommunicated, to whom for that reason they wou'd not allow Christian Burial.

13. This was all they cou'd pretend to, before the Empire turn'd Christian; but then they oblig'd the Magistrate to deny 'em Justice, and to put 'em out of his Protection: nor were the Clergy content with this, but in express Terms they declar'd, that he who remain'd \* excommunicateda de Hærer. Year was an Heretick, who had no Right to Truth, Property, Liberty or Life; and therefore among Protestants as well as Papifts, Hereticks were every where, till of late, put to death. And at this very day an excommunicated Person is out of the Protection of the Law, fo that Men are under no legal Obligation of keeping Faith with him.

14. The excluding all those the Clergy diflik'd from the Publick Worship, was a Doctrine, which had not fo easily gone down with the People, had they not before their Conversion been made familiar to such Practices by the Heathen Priests; who us'd to drive out of their Temples all who were not initiated, as profane Perfons,

\* Decret. cap. 13. Si quis.

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fons, when they celebrated their impious Chap. 33 and abominable Mysterys: And another Set of Priests, that they might have the better Pretence to exclude People from the Lord's Supper, not only represented (as appears by their Letters to one another that most plain and simple Institution as a most Horrible, most Dreadful, and Unuttes rable Mystery, but made it a Crime of the first Magnitude to entrust the Secrete not only with the Heathen, but with Christians of the lowest Form, the Catechumens. And as the Uninitiated among the Heathens were bid to turn out of the Temple of the God, whose Mysterys were to be celebrated; fo the others were commanded by the Deacons to quit the Church, when the Mystery (or Mass of the Faithful, as it was usually call'd) was to be faid. which they reflected the greatest Dishonour imaginable on the Christian Religion, as if it wou'd not bear the Test's and therefore a principal part of it was not fo much as to be mention'd, except to those who were ingag'd in a manner past And tho this ridiculous Refervedneis gave occasion to those vile Storys the Heathen rais'd of what was practis'd at their private Meetings; yet it cou'd not hinder the Clergy from acting like the Priests of Ceres or Bacchus, fince by it they got the same Power of excluding from their Mysterys those whom they declar'd to be un= worthy. And therefore Tertullian, when the Secrecy of the Mysterys of the Christians was objected to them, endeavours to jus-

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tify it, in faying, \* 'Tis the very Nature of Mysterys to be conceal'd, as Ceres's were in Samothracia. How differently from this do the great Pretenders to Primitive Practice act, when upon all occasions they publickly

carry the Host in Procession?

from the Passover, Temple, or Synagogue, for any Moral Uncleanness: and Mr. Selden in his Synedries has by many Arguments as well as Authoritys, prov'd that the Christian Priests borrow'd this Custom from the Heathens; and it was very well worth their while, since they saw what Advantage their Clergy made of it, particularly the Druid, who by excluding from the Sacrifices whom they pleas'd, got all Power into their hands.

16. The Account which Cafar gives of the Druids, shows that they have been pretty

well copy'd.

" (1.) (a) The Druids, says he, manage Divine Matters, give Orders concerning publick and private Sacrifices; and are

"Interpreters of Religion.
(2.) They determine all Controversys

both publick and private.

" (3.) If any private Man, or State, do

(a) De Bello Gall. lib. 6.

2. De omnibus Controversiis publicis privatisque con-

4. Quibus

<sup>1.</sup> Illi rebus divinis interfunt, facrificia publica & privata procurant, Religiones interpretantur.

stituunt.

3. Si quis privatus, aut populus, eorum decretis non
stetit, Sacrificiis interdicunt; hæc pæna apud eos grasissima.

not submit to their Decrees, they put Chap. 3.

" this they account the greatest of Punish-

" ments.

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" (4.) Such as are thus interdicted, are reckon'd in the number of wicked and impious Men; none will speak to em or meet em, but all fly from em as infectious.

" (5.) Neither have they Justice when they require it, nor any Respect or Ho-

" nour which is due to 'em.

(6.) The Druids are exempt from

" War, and free from Taxes.

17. The Custom of sacrificing Men among the Heathens was owing to their Priests, especially the Druids (it prevailing wherever they did) who by the Power they had of appointing the human Offerings, kept every one in a most miserable dread of 'em. And the facrificing of Christians upon account of their religious Tenets (for which Millions have suffer'd) was introduc'd for no other reason than that the Clergy, who took upon 'em to be the sole Judges of Religion, might, without controul, impose what selfish Doctrines they pleas'd.

<sup>4.</sup> Quibus ita est interdictum, ii numero impiorum & sceleratorum habentur; ab his omnes decedunt, aditum eorum Sermonemq; defugiunt, ne quid ex contagione incommodi accipiant.

<sup>5.</sup> Neg; iis petentibus jus redditur, neg; honos ullus communicatur.

<sup>6.</sup> Druides a bello abesse consueverant, neg, tributa cum reliquis pendunt.

18. The most material Difference between these Christian and those Heathen Druids, is, that one facrific'd Men to the Deity, but t'other to the Devil; and by burning 'em alive, make 'em as far as they can tast of Hell, before they send 'em thither: of which to persuade the Spectators, they drefs 'em up in a San-benito, or a Coat all painted with Devils and Flames; and they take their leave of each Sufferer with this most charitable Expres-Jam animam tuam tradimus Diabolo. And their Truth and Mercy equal their Charity: for when they deliver over the condemn'd Persons to the Secular Powers. tho they do it with no other intent than to have them put to the most cruel Death; yet they most earnestly conjure 'em by the Mercys of God, and the Bowels of Jefm Christ, to touch neither Life nor Limb: Which gross Dissimulation, says a most worthy Prelate (b), we are put in mind of by the Preamble to a late Bill. But to return:

on the People to let 'em debar from the Publick Worship whom they thought sit, told several Storys of the Excluded being posses'd with the Devil; as Stilicon's Scribe upon Ambrose's excommunicating him: And the Eastern Clergy at present, to make the simple Laity stand more in awe of

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<sup>(</sup>b) Bishop of Sarum's Speech on the Bill against 00 casional Conformity.

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their Excommunication, persuade 'em that Chap. 3. the Bodys of those who die under this Cenfure, do not consume, but remain black and fwoln, till they are taken up and abfolv'd. Several Instances you have of this in Malaxus and Crucius's Turco-Grecia, and a great many more in Selden \*, who fays, \*L.I.c.10. the Clergy mention it in their Instruments de Syned. of Excommunication; and relates a Commination of Cyril Patriarch of Alexandria, in which are these words, (c) The Excommunicated remain after death bound and undiffolv'd both here and hereafter, and ftretch'd like a Drum. By virtue of these and such like Pretences, the Bishops did more tyrannize over these poor Christians than the Turks themselves.

20. I cannot here avoid observing the great Difference between the Greek and Latin Churches as to this matter; for one makes the Body of an inter'd Person remaining a considerable time intire, a Mark of his being a Saint, and the other of his being a Devil.

21. Nothing won'd expose Priestcraft more, than an Historical Account, how, and upon what Motives the Clergy vary'd in their Notions and Practices concerning the Lord's Supper: As first, how they made it a Mystery in the Heathenish sense of that word, and for Heathenish Reasons, that they might have the same Power as the Priests of Idols had, to exclude whom they

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<sup>(</sup>c) Και μετα ή θανάζον αλυτοι έν τω νυν αιώνι και τυ μελλονζι και τυμπανικοι.

were pleas'd to term Unworthy. Which Power, when they had by this means fufficiently fettled, nothing less wou'd ferve 'em, in order to magnify their Confecration, than that it produc'd the Real Prefence of the Body and Blood of Christ (tho the Modus of it they did not presume to determine till afterward) and made it a Real Sacrifice, and the Ministers Real Priests, and the Communion-Table an Altar; which placing in the East, they made profound Bows and Cringes towards it. So that the Heathen cou'd no longer fay, as they did at first, that the Christians had no Priests, no Altars, no Sacrifice: for nothing then did more frequently occur in the Writings of the Fathers than those Terms; and they made not only the Sacrament, but almost every thing else relating to Religion, a Sacrifice, and themfelves to be fure the only Sacrificers. And the better to carry on their Designs, they enter'd into a Confederacy among themfelves, not to fuffer any who was excommunicated by one Bishop, to be receiv'd into Communion by the rest: So that they were resolv'd, right or wrong, to justify one another's Proceedings; and no Person, unless he had a Certificate from the Bishop of his own Church, whatever occasion he had to remove, was to be admitted to communicate with any other; nay, if one's own \* Bishop was for excluding a Person for ever from the Church, others, tho this Practice was contrary to their Sentiments, oblig'd themselves never to admit him to Com-

\* Dodw. de Schif. Ang. p. fhor tiz'd he w did did:

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Communion. So if a Bishop did believe Chap. 3. the Baptism of Hereticks to be null and void, as Cyprian and the other African Bishops did, yet he was to admit one so baptiz'd to Communion; but on the contrary he was not to admit him, if his own Bishop did not think his Baptism valid, the himself did. And,

22. After they had thus agreed among themselves, they declar'd, in order to make People stand the more in awe of their Excommunication, that the receiving of the Body and Blood of Christ was absolutely necessary to the Salvation of all, Infants (whose Throats they thrust it down) not excepted; and this Practice continu'd in the Church \* for above fix hundred years. \* Maldon. And then nothing less wou'd fatisfy 'em in Joh. 6. than making the Great God, who made all 16. things; and as he made the World by his Word, fo they wou'd Him by Theirs. And to magnify the Sacredness of the Priests, all others were excluded from the Privilege of the Cup, and only adult Persons to eat the Bread, yet not till they had ador'd it as the most High God. And what cou'd the most extravagantly Ambitious desire more, than to have Mankind proftrate at their Feet, begging Absolution; and their God in their hands, distributing him as they pleas'd? And if they cou'd make him, 'tis not to be question'd but they had an absolute Power of disposing of their own Creature-God.

Here one's at a stand which to admire most, the mad Insolence and daring H 4 Im-

Art. 28.

Implety of the Clergy, or the groß Stupi. dity and wretched Abjectness of the Laity; one in thus imposing, and t'other in being

thus impos'd on.

23. At the Reformation we were fo far from countenancing these Notions, that by the Articles of Edward the Sixth the Real Presence is expresly condemn'd, and by this invincible Argument, the Impossibility of two Bodys being in the same place, But in a short time after, that Paragraph \* Bp of Sa- \* was left out by the Convocation, on rum's Exp. pretence of not giving Offence to the Adorers of a Corporeal Presence; and another put in its room, fo worded, that the Papists shou'd not scruple it. Which piece of extraordinary Complaisance had no other effect than to make the Papills more obstinate, and possibly was no small occasion that a Man cou'd scarce be thought a true genuine Son of the Church, without believing the Real Presence; and by degrees, Priest, Sacrifice, Altar, &c. were again

> revivid. 24. To conclude: Tho the Priests affume to themselves an Arbitrary Power of excluding Men from the Lord's Supper; yet the Scriptures no where make the receiving it from the Hands of a Prieft, necessary: nay, not one Instance of the Laity's receiving it so can be pro-The Passover and duc'd from thence. other Festivals among the Jews were never celebrated in the Temple or Synabut in their private Houses,

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whither, as (a) Grotius observes, they invi- Chap. 3. ted their Kindred, Friends and Neighbors. to the number of above ten, but under twenty; which Josephus calls a Fraternity: and at the close of the Supper, the great Meal with them, the Master of the Feast distributed among his Guests small Pieces of the finest Bread; and having first drank of the Grace-Cup, deliver'd it to be handed about. All this was accompany'd with Thanks to God for having created Bread and Wine, which was follow'd by fome Relation futable to the Festival, and the Eucharisty or Hymn of Thanksgiving; to which Christ, who instituted no new Rites, superadded the Remembrance of his Sufferings, and directs his Disciples as often as they did this, that is, celebrate fuch Festivals, and close them with the Postcænium, to commemorate him after this manner. And this same Author shows. from the Institutions of Clemens, from Justin, Irenaus and Origen, that the antient Christians began their Eucharist with Praises to God for Creation of the World, particularly of Bread and Wine; and then proceeded to commemorate our Saviour's Death. And tho among the Gentiles, where the Rich according to antient Custom entertain'd the Poor, there were, by reason of their Numbers, great Disorders in their Love-Feasts, where

<sup>(</sup>a) In his Discourse, An fir semper communicandum per Symbola.

after the fame manner they remember'd our Saviour's Suffering; yet the Apostle no where declares, that for prevention of the like, none for the future shou'd presume to take any Bread and Wine, except from the Hand of a Priest; but only that every one shou'd examine himself, which is not only overlooking the Priest's pretended Power. but is wholly inconsistent with it. And if St. Paul, notwithstanding these Excesses. deny'd none this Liberty, nor have we an Instance of any Person, no not Judas him. felf, excluded from it; what Pretence can there be for the Clergy to be Sovereign Judges who shou'd be admitted, and who not? which at first they cou'd not, except they were necessarily to be invited to all those Meals, in the Close of which our Saviour's Death was to be commemorated, and had likewise a Power to forbid the Guels they did not like. And if this Sacrament, as the Name of the Lord's Supper shews, was first celebrated at Meal-time, either the People who fat or lay down at Supper, must hand the Bread and Wine to one another; or else some must wait at Table for this purpose, an Office the Clergy wou'd not be fo fond of, as of the present Custom of the whole Congregation's attending the Priest at the Rails of the Altar, and there kneeling at his Feet, humbly to wait till he diffributes to them the Bread and Wine from within the Rails, a Place it feems too too Holy for the profane and vile Laity to beadmitted into; and therefore the Priest, clad in his pompous Formalitys, is to stand there alone.

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\* Tertullian not only owns the re-Chap. 3. ceiving the Eucharist from the hands of \* De Cor. the Bishop in the Assemblys which met be- Milic. fore break of day, to be an Innovation, but also says, that by our Lord it was committed to All, and at Meal-times; and confequently the whole Discipline that's built on it must be an Innovation. And if the Priests have so grosly impos'd on the Chrifian World in this matter, there can be no reason to depend on their Authority, or to take any thing to appertain to 'em, tho it has ever fo long or universally obtain'd, except they can show a sufficient Proof from Scripture for it. And considering this, it can't be thought strange that that excellent Man who first sow'd the Seeds of the Protestant Religion here, the \* famous \* Fascicul, Wickliff, shou'd maintain that the chief Rerum Experend. Comfort of the Faithful is, that Excommuni-fol. 136. cation and Suspension, and such-like Censures, art. 17. are not founded in the Law of Christ, but cunningly invented by Antichrift.

25. The Protestant Cantons carry'd the Reformation the furthest of any in this Point, and wou'd not allow that excluding Men from the Sacrament was any part of Ecclesiastical Discipline, or that the Priests had any Authority in it: in defence of which the Great Erastus wrote his excellent Treatise printed here, and licens'd, as Mr. Selden \* has made evident, by Arch- \* De Syne. bishop Whitgist's own Hand. Nor do we 1.1. c. 10. or any other Protestant Nation allow the

Clergy an Independent Power in this matter; which is a fufficient Proof that they do not believe it belongs to them by Di. vine Right.

26. Tis usually said, That People cart take the Sacrament without a Priest, because he

only can confecrate the Elements.

Among Christians, one no more than ano. ther can be reckon'd a Priest from Scripture, because the only Sacrifices of our Religion are Prayers, Praises and Thanksgivings; which every one of the Congregation offers up for himself: and there's no more reason to affirm that the Minister offers up the Recples Prayers, than they his; unless it can be suppos'd that God hears him only who talks the loudest, in that he's the Servant of the Congregation, being imploy'd by em to speak with an audible Voice, that all may join together in offering up the same Prayers. And the Clerk has as good a Title to the Priesthood as the Parson; since the People join with him in offering up their Sacrifices of Spiritual Songs, Hymns, and To make this pertinent Thanksgivings. to the present purpose; Does not every one as well as the Minister equally apply the Bread and Wine to the same Holy and Spiritual Use, in commemorating the Be nefits receiv'd by our Saviour, and in of fering up the same Prayers, and desiring the same Blessings? And whoever does this with a due Application of Mind, rightly confecrates the Elements for himfelf, fince this is the only Confecration they are capable of: Any thing further than this may rather be call'd Conjuration than Consecration. But

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But designing to treat of all this Mat-Chap. 3. ter more sully hereafter, I shall now only add, that a Pretence to a Priesthood, or Sacrificing, not in common to all Christians, is no small piece of Priestcraft; to prevent which, the New Testament, when it applies Priest or Sacrificer to Christians, which is not above twice, applies it to 'em in gene-1 Per. 2.5. ral, as being all alike concern'd in offering Rev. 5. 10. up the Sacrifices of the Christian Religion. And yet what absurd and sensless Notions do not only the Popish, but other High-Churchmen maintain about this plain and simple Institution, in order to make themselves Priests in a peculiar and real manner?

As I have shown how little reason there is for the Clergy to pretend an Independent Right to exclude from the Church and all publick Worship whom they please; so I must now observe how they claim, as peculiar to themselves, and as a part of their Divine Jurisdiction, the reproving or rebuk-

ing of People. But,

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27. Nothing can be weaker, than pretending that this is peculiar to themselves, or a part of Jurisdiction: since 'tis in common to those who have no Jurisdiction, as well as those who have; and not only Equals, but Inseriors observing the Rules of Decency, have a right, nay are bound, as they have opportunity, to reprove their Superiors: for instance, I, tho with all Humility, rebuke the Clergy for thus grossy imposing on the Laity; and this I am bound to do, according to the Divine Precept, which says, Thou shalt in any wife rebuke

rebuke thy Brother, and not fuffer Sin upon him; and yet I pretend no Jurisdiction over them, but to fet this matter in a die comong, both common

light.

28. Men, tho they relign'd to the Pub. lick the disposing of their Force, yet still retain a Power of approving or disapprov. ing the Actions of those they live amongh: and consequently the Clergy, if they cannot punish or reward Men for those Actions they commend or condemn, by fome Good or Evil which is not the Consequence of the Actions themselves, which operate whether they will or no, can pretend to no more Power than what belongs in common to the rest of the People, whose 0pinions must have a great Influence of mens Actions: except it can be imagin'd that being Esteem'd, Honour'd, Admir'd, Lov'd, Courted and Carefs'd; or being Slighted, Difgrac'd, Despis'd, Hated and Abhor'd, are not strong Motives to a Man to accommodate himself to the Sentiments of those he converses with. There's not one in ten thousand able to bear the constant Dislike and Condemnation of his own Society, nor can live in perpetual Difrepute and Difgrace with those he converses with; much less can he indure the Thoughts of being so abhor'd by every one, as that they shall conspire to shun all Conversation with

29. Of this the Clergy are sensible, and therefore pretend they have a Divine Right to command the Opinion and Affections of the People, by obliging all to hold those

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those they excommunicate, or declare to Chap. 3. be guilty of Schism or Herefy, in so great a detestation, as to avoid conversing with 'em. And when Men are once persuaded, that the Clergy are Judges in Religious Matters, and that God fo much abhors those they pronounce Heterodox, as to damn them eternally, and that he loves others as much for holding what they declare to be Orthodox; there needs not much perfuading 'em that 'tis their duty to imitate God in loving those he loves, and hating those he hates. And if those the Clergy turn out of the Church, are to be shun'd by every body, on the Penalty of being condemn'd to fuffer the fame, there can be no reason why those who by Schism or Herefy turn themselves out of the Church, shou'd be us'd after a better manner. And the Clergy need not take much pains to perfuade Men to use those ill in this Life, whom God will eternally damn in the next. No pity for fuch Perfons can hinder 'em from thinking any Method too fevere for preventing the Propagation of damnable Doctrines. Charity to the Souls of Mankind in general, were not their Children, Friends, and Relations concern'd, wou'd oblige 'em to do: and as they cannot suppose the Clergy can have too great a Power to inquire into suspected Persons, so they likewise will be for putting all the Hardships imaginable on excommunicated Persons, in order to force em to submit to the Terms the Clergy require for their Admission into the Church.

Church. And when such Notions as these once prevail, it will not be safe for the Magistrate to protect those the Clergy have thus represented to the People. But did not this Method necessarily destroy all manner of Kindness and Friendship, and introduce immortal Hatred for unavoidable Disferences in Opinion; yet things being good or evil on account of their Essets, that which produces the same Consequences as Hatred does, is every whit as bad: and suppose 'tis all one to the poor People who are burnt by the Inquisitors, what Principles they are acted by; and every one sees that these Notions naturally end in an

Inquisition.

30. Nothing can tend more to the difcouragement of all Virtue and Morality, and the utter confounding of all those Dutys which Men owe one another, than this pretended Power of the Priest: for if I must look on a Man, tho ever so moral, or tho I were ever fo much oblig'd by him, or stand in the nearest relation to him, as one abhor'd by God on the account of his Opinions, and to be shun'd as fome noxious Animal; how can I treat him with that Kindness which is due to his Virtue, or as Gratitude, or the Relation I have to him requires of me? Nay, fo destructive is this Notion of Morality, that the more moral a Man is, the worse he is to be us'd, because the greater is the Danger of his making his Heterodoxy to spread and obtain. So the same Reason will oblige People to treat an immoral

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immoral Orthodox Man with all the Kind-Chap. 33 ness imaginable; may, the worse he is, the better he is to be us'd, if a different Treatment brings the least prejudice to But the reason of Mens Orthodoxy. mutual Esteem or Disesteem, Kindness or Unkindness, is built on a quite different Foundation than Orthodoxy or Hetero-

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31. Man being a Creature not able to fublist without the Assistance of others; whoever expects they wou'd not put the least Inconvenience on him, or love or esteem him the less for the sake of his Opinions, ought to use those who differ from him after the same manner; and confequently all Good and Moral Men, whether Schismaticks, Hereticks, Turks, Jews or Gentiles, have a Right to be treated by the Orthodox as they expect to be treated by them, or in other words, as the mutual Good of Mankind obliges 'em to treat all moral and virtuous Persons, without regard to Orthodoxy, which every Sect confine to themselves. On the contrary, they who live not up to the common Rules of Humanity, but indulge their brutal Passions to the prejudice of their own Kind, have no right, notwithstanding they are Orthodox, wonderfully Orthodox, to the Esteem or Friendship of rational Beings; but may be shun'd and avoided by them as pernicious Creatures of an inferiour Rank, with whom their renouncing the common Law of Reason has level'd them.

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32. There's no Man who lives in a Country where the Religion is different from his own, who fees not the absolute Necessity of this Conduct, and curses the Bigotry of the People for being fo influenc'd by their Priests, as to make him suffer in his Person, Goods or Reputation, for the fake of fuch Opinions as they receive no Prejudice by: And he will beant to consider, that the God had implanted in our Natures a Sense of Pity, and a Defire of being belov'd, in order to oblige Mankind to treat one another kindly; and has not only made it their mutual Interest, but oblig'd 'em to it by the Ties of future Rewards and Punishments; yet the Priests have perverted all this, and made Religion the great Incentive for Men to use one and ther ill, without regard to Interest, Repo tation or Pity. Which last is represented as a Suggestion of the Devil in favour of Heterodoxy: and the crueller Men are on this account, the greater Reputation they get. Thus he perceives that Religion is render'd much worse than Atheism it self; for as that affords Men no Motives from another World to use one another ill, foit takes away none they have from this w use one another well, or any way hinders 'em from giving that Esteem and Reputation to Virtuous and Moral Men, which the most immoral, in regard to their own Interest, are ready to pay them. The Men reason thus, when themselves are treated on the score of Religion; yet alas, how few can make the same Reflection when

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when the Tables are turn'd? Men then, Chap. 3? fo much are they impos'd on by their own Priests, commit the very same Crimes they abhor'd in others, and on the fame Pretences; fince the Honour of God and the Good of Mens Souls are alike pleaded by all Partys, and alike ferve as a Pretext for doing all the Mischief the most Diabolical Malice can produce.

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33. A Commission from God, authorizing a Priest to punish People by Ecclesiastical Censures, for things in which a third Person has no Interest, and which only relate to God and a Man's own Confcience, necessarily supposes Qualifications sufficient for the executing of it; and consequently that his Censures have a power to change the Mind, otherwise 'tis punishing to no purpose, or worse than none, the making Hypocrites, and that he is infallible, else the Change may be for the worse; nay, that he is Omniscient, and can judg of Mens Hearts, otherwise he may punish a Man for that which is no Offence before God: because to make any thing except Infincerity a Sin, is to make God himself the Author of Sin, in so framing our Understanding, that after we have done all we can to avoid it, we necessarily fall into it. But had any Priests such Qualifications, That alone wou'd not prove they were to represent God, and punish in his stead, unless God had given 'em such a Commisfion, which cou'd not appear if their Names were not writ in it, or their Perions to describ'd as every one might find em 1 2

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'em out; fince what is in common with others, who equally pretend to this Commission, cou'd never do it. Without this Power, whatever Priest takes upon him to punish Men for worshipping God according to Conscience, not only deposes God, as far as he is able, from his Empire over Conscience, but makes the not affronting him by a gross Dissimulation, a Crime, for which a Man is not only to be depriv'd of the Conversation of his Fellow-Creatures, but to be eternally damn'd. A Sin greater than that of Lucifer, who fell not for claiming a Superiority over, but only an Equality with his Maker. But here the Priest disputes the Dominion with the Almighty: for God commands Men, on pain of eternal Punishment, to follow the Dictates of their Consciences; but the Priest, without any regard to this, pretends to a Power, not only of making Men miserable in this Life, but of damning 'em eternally, if they thus prefer obeying God before what he requires of em. But,

34. If Sincerity be our Duty, Infincerity must be a Crime; and consequently being in the right, if occasion'd by a blind Submission to the Priest, or any other Accident, will not make amends for the neglect of the grand Duty of Consideration, with which Ecclesiastical Censures are as inconsistent as any other persecuting Method; and can only tend to create new, and establish old Prejudices, since Gentleness and Kindness are the only way to

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remove 'em: for whatever is propos'd Chap. 3° with Heat, makes Arguments, as every one may find by himfelf, lofe fomewhat of their Efficacy; and therefore whoever wou'd perfuade, uses all the kind, all the obliging, all the infinuating Methods to dispose People for the more favourable reception of his Arguments. And St. Paul, tho nothing cou'd more effectually remove Prejudices than his power of doing Miracles, vet not content with that, became all things to all Men, that he might gain some. And if the Clergy, who cannot pretend to a power of working Miracles, initead of observing the same method, are for endeavouring to make those who differ from 'em fall under the Contempt, Difgrace and Hatred of the People, and threaten'em with no less than Damnation; 'tis a prefumption, they do not defign to convince, but to fright Men into a compliance with fome villanous Doctrine, which they are fensible will not bear the Test of Exa-

35. 'Tis an amazing thing to consider, that the Christ and his Apostles inculcated nothing so much as Universal Charity, and enjoin'd their Disciples to treat, not only one another notwithstanding their Disferences, but even Jews and Gentiles with all the kindness imaginable, yet that their pretended Successors should make it their business to teach such Doctrines as destroy all Love and Friendship among People of different Persuasions; and that with so good Success, that never did Mortals hate,

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abhor

abhor and damn one another more heartily, or are readier to do one another more Mischief, than the different Sects of Chris tians. Human Nature, God be thank'd if left to it felf, wou'd not be fo de. prav'd: for then Men wou'd as kindly re. ceive Arguments offer'd to their Confidera. tion in Religious as in Philosophical mat. ters; and love and esteem People for set. ting'em fo good a Precedent as worshipping God according to Conscience. Opinions which each Side may hold without the leaf prejudice to the other, are not in their own nature apter to create Unkindness than different Features and Tasts: And of this we may be convinc'd by the Conduct of the World, even when it lay for fo many Ages together, as the greatest part at present does, under Heathen Darkness; for there were no fuch Feuds and Animosty on this account among them, tho their Differences were more and greater. Which shows, that the best Religion has had the misfortune to have the worst Priests; and if the Heathen World was, as Divines tell us, under the Power of Satan, I should be glad to fee how they avoid this Confequence of Nature's not being fo much perverted then, as fince under the Government of certain Priefts, who are no better than spiritual Make-baits, Bareters, Beanteteus and Incendiarys, and who make Churches serve to worse purposes than Bear-gardens, where Beafts are only the Combatants; but here Christians are haloo'd on to worry and devour one another,

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and all in defiance of the Scriptures, which Chap. 3teach the forgiving even of the greatest Injuries, while they require People to treat those who have not done'em the least Injury, after the most barbarous manner.

36. If in the time of that wife Heathen Ammianus Marcellinus, the Christians bore fuch Hatred to one another, that, as he complains, (a) No Beasts were such deadly Enemys to Men, as the more Savage Christians were generally to one another: What wou'd he, if now alive, fay of them, when in the Popish Countrys he beheld their Princes and Nobles proud of ferving the Inquisition in the vilest Offices, as carrying the holy Faggots for burning of Hereticks; and the Commonalty, without the least fense of Pity, testifying their Joy with the loudest Acclamations at the insupportable Agonys of those tormented Wretches! Nor wou'd he think this the Spirit of Popery only, when he perceiv'd Protestants, tho allowing private Judgment, nay tho building their Separation from Rome upon it, zealous for burning Hereticks, and treating one another with the utmost Inhumanity for mere Trifles, things own'd by the Persecutors themselves to be indifferent. But most of all wou'd he be furpriz'd at the late Conduct of some, and those none of the meanest among our selves, The fatal Effects of whose unreasonable Humour and

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<sup>(</sup>a) Nullas infestas hominibus bestias ut sint sibi seriles plerique Christianorum, Lib. 22.

Animosity we have, as we are told from the

Throne, so narrowly escap'd.

37. In a word, these Mischiefs are unavoidable, as long as any besides Moral Caufes are allow'd to be subject to the judicial Cognizance of Human Powers, or as long as the Clergy, by Excommunication or otherwife, can oblige the Magistrate or any of his Subjects to treat those who differ from 'em. in what relates only to God and their own Consciences, with the least Unkindness or Partiality. And tho only an inspir'd Writer cou'd express how happy, upon the removal of these cursed Effects of Priestcraft, the reviv'd Spirit of Christianity wou'd render its numerous Votarys; yet every one, who knows any thing of that great Love, Benevolence, Gentleness, Meekness, Moderation, and all fuch like Vertues, which our Religion fo pathetically recommends, must needs perceive that their Happiness wou'd be as compleat as Human Nature, exalted to the highest Pitch of Perfection, was capable of; and fo much the greater, as it freed 'em from that extreme Misery, to which Priestcraft in most places had fo long subjected 'em.

38. As in this Chapter I have prov'd that the Pretences on which the Clergy wou'd build their Independent Power, are so far from having any Foundation in Religion or Reason, that they are Absurd and Impious; I shall in the following part of my Discourse show that this Doctrine is so far from serving

the ends of Religion, that,

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(1.) It not only prevents the further Chap. 3. spreading of the Gospel, but is the Cause of its having already lost so much ground.

(2.) That it is most destructive to the Interest of Religion, and is the Cause of those Corruptions under which Christianity

labours.

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(3.) That it necessarily hinders all Reformation, except where those Persons who are supposed to have this Independent Power do consent.

(4.) That it has been the occasion of infinite Mischiefs to the Christian World, and has, wherever it prevail'd, render'd the Community most miserable. And besides

this, I shall prove,

ift. That 'tis inconsistent with the Defign and End of Ecclesiastical Government, that there should be any particular Immutable Form of it, or that any Set of Persons should have an Unalterable Right to it; but that every Community is oblig'd, according to the Circumstances they are under, to alter and vary all things relating to it, as they judg most conducing to the End for which that was instituted.

2dly. That this Hypothesis, of none being capable of governing the Church except Bishops (and the Reason equally holds as to Presbyters) and that none can be Bishops except such as derive their Power by a continu'd uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles, destroys the very Being not only of all Protestant, but of all Churches

whatfoever.

## CHAP. IV.

That 'tis inconfistent with the Reason, Design and End of Ecclesiastical Discipline, that there shou'd be any particular Immutable Form of it, or any Set of Persons with an Unalterable Right to manage it; but that Men are obliged, according to the Circumstances they are under, to alter and vary all things relating to it, as they judg most conducing to the End for which That was instituted.

ALL things relating to Religion are either Means or Ends; the Last, as carrying real Worth with 'em, are to be embrac'd on their own account: but the First, as having no such Excellency, are obligatory for the sake of the last only, and consequently are to be continu'd or chang'd, as serves best to promote those Ends for which they were instituted.

2. The Ends for the fake of which all Means are ordain'd, are only two (in effect the fame) the Honour of God, and the

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Good of Mankind; but the Means to These Chap. 4. are as many and various, as the Circumstances Men are under; and therefore all Ecclefiastical Discipline, that is, all Things relating to the Government and Policy of the Church, which all own to be Means only, ought not to be continually the fame, but to undergo from time to time fuch Alterations as are best suted to the Ends it was instituted for. And it must needs frequently happen, especially in a Religion design'd to last to the End, as well as to reach to the utmost Bounds of the World, that no particular Form of Ecclefiastical Discipline can be so proper at all times and places as fome other: and then not to alter that which is less conducive, nay perhaps prejudicial, is to make Ends give place to Means; and confequently the only way to prove this or that Form of Ecclefiastical Discipline, in this or that Place, to be Divine, is to shew that 'tis there the fittest for the End it was design'd to promote. For when any Circumstances happen, which cause Means to lose the Fitness they had before, God by causing those Alterations does as much take off their Obligation, as if he had exprestly declar'd it; fince Acts do as fully express the Mind as And if God himself did not command whatfoever those Circumstances, he has plac'd us in, require, it wou'd be impossible to prove there was any fuch Law as that of Nature: since that consists in nothing else than acting according to those Circumstances Men are in, with relation to God

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God and one another; and consequently, to be unalterably ty'd up to any particular form of Ecclesiastical Discipline, is inconsistent with the Law of Nature, and the infinite Wisdom of God, which requir'd Means most adapted to the Ends they are

defign'd to promote.

3. The first Christians cou'd not be confin'd to any one Form of Discipline, especially when under Persecution, because that must have subjected 'em to innumerable Inconveniences. How eafily cou'd the Roman Emperors have destroy'd the Church, if the Bishops, for instance, were only capable of governing it, by feizing 'em all at once? Or what a Confusion must it have caus'd, to have only imprison'd 'em, or the greatest part of 'em, considering they still retain'd a Right to that Power they were incapacitated from exercifing? In all fuch Cases no Church can be safe, without being at liberty to act in Things of this nature as they fee occasion.

4. The Circumstances of a few private Christians, form'd into particular Congregations, independent of one another, as at first, and those of the now National Churches, being so very different, must re-

quire a very different Polity.

The same Garment may as well serve Children and Men, as the same Regimen can fit People for all Times and Circumstances. Clothes made of Beasts-skins may now as well be pretended to be of Divine Obligation, because God himself so cloth'd our first Parents, as any particular Discipline

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comp amon over form' matte pline be now binding, because Religion was Chap. 4. at first cloth'd with it.

5. God, tho he wou'd have Gospel-Churches in all Countrys, yet does not defign they should in the least be prejudicial to the Civil Polity; which wou'd be unavoidable, if upon supposition of a National Church, the Form of its Government was not to be fitted and accommodated to the Model of the Civil Government.

6. Most Nations, as Experience shows, do prefer one fort of Ecclesiastical Government before another; and therefore to force 'em to live under any other, perhaps one they are prejudic'd against, must be contrary to their Spiritual as well as Temporal Interest, especially when it has before been turn'd to the prejudice of Religion, and to advance the immoderate Power of the Clergy.

Therefore 'twas in feveral places prudently done of the Reformers, knowing how the People were fet against Bishops by reason of their Tyranny, to alter the Form of Church-Government: Had they not done this, they wou'd have given occasion to the People to think they only found fault with their Bishops, to get into their

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7. We find that the Christians at first comply'd with the Model which obtain'd among the Jews, in order to bring them over to Christianity; and Churches were form'd, as they who have examin'd this matter acknowledg, after the manner of

the Synagogues, with no other difference than that one Party believ'd the Meffias already come, and the other expected his

Coming.

8. Nay, for a long time the Disciples, as their Master did all his Life, frequented the Temish Synagogues, which they cou'd not do without fubmitting to their Government: but then despairing of the Jews, the Alterations afterward made in Matters of Discipline, were design'd to bring the Heathens into the Church; and fo were accommodated as much as cou'd be to their Customs, and the Model of their Civil Polity; which some Men, who frankly own this, wou'd yet obtrude on us as of an Eternal Obligation. And ought not all o. thers to act after the same manner, and not prejudice any Nation against the Chris tian Religion, by endeavoring to obtrude on them a Church-Government to which they are averse? Nor can that among Christians, which is forc'd on People, do fo much good, as one they have a Kindness

9. If People cannot determine, who shall exercise all Ecclesiastical Offices, but this by a Divine Right belongs folely to a particular Set of Men, and whom they adopt into their Body; 'twould be no less than Sacrilege in others to preach the Gospel to Heathens, or to form 'em into a Church: nay, it wou'd be a Sin in Infidels to incourage fuch facrilegious Attempts, by being

converted and baptiz'd by 'em.

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10. By this Doctrine shou'd a parcel of Chap. 4. Lay-Christians be cast on a Land, which had no Communication with any Christian Country; 'twou'd be unlawful for 'em not only to preach the Gospel to the Infidels, but to form themselves into a Church; because none among 'em has a Right publickly to fay Prayers, or administer the Sacraments, the very Attempt being a Profanation of the Holy Ordinances. Nav. tho they had Priests among them, if only Bishops can make Priests, they upon their death must cease to be a Church: nor cou'd their Children be entitl'd to any of the Advantages of Christianity, tho they liv'd ever fo religiously.

Laymen may exercise the Ecclesiastical Function, as Frumentius and several others, with the Approbation of the Catholick Church, have done, it proves there's nothing in that Function, of which every Christian, provided of Abilitys, is not capable: since a mere Negative, the absence of Priests, cannot create a new Right, but calls People to the Exercise of a Right which

was in them before.

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12. We need not put extraordinary Cases, because if any Set of Ecclesiasticks (suppose of Bishops) are necessary to the Being of a Church, all that are without 'em must be unchurch'd.

To fay, the Purest Faith, the Soundest Doctrine, and the most Exemplary Life, avail not to the health of Mens Souls without this or that Set of Ecclesiasticks,

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is as abfurd, as to suppose the most whole from Meat will not nourish the Body, because the Cook who dress'd it, was not made one with such Formalitys; but that for the sake of these, another Cook, the he mingles Poison with the Meat, is to be prefer'd. And what else do they say, who allow the Romish Church, which in cooking up the Heavenly Food, mingles Poison of her own, to be a true Church; and yet deny a great part of the Reform'd, where the Food of Life is to be had pure and unmixt, to be a Church, because their Spiritual Cooks are not made with such or such Formalitys? But,

13. As the fole End and Design of the Ministry is the Propagation of the true Faith, and wholesom Doctrine; so where these are taught and preach'd, there must be a true Ministry, and a true Church; which the Food of Life will nourish, from

what Hand foever it comes.

As every Church, all implicit Faith being forbid, must judg whether their Ministers preach agreeably to the Scripture; so they must have a Right to constitute such for that End, as they judg will do so, tho no Bishop or other Ecclesiastick will lay hands on 'em; and to remove those they judg do not their Duty, tho they had Hands laid on with all the Formalitys imaginable. And therefore, tho it be customary to admit none to the Ministry, who have not the Approbation of the Clergy; yet that is only a Trust they receive from the Church, which she is bound to re-

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reassume, when she finds they betray their Chap. 4. Truft, and will only ordain Enemys to the Truth; unless that must give place to a Thing, which cou'd be instituted for no other end than the preservation of Truth. And therefore those Priests who make the Church to depend on the Ministry, by Christianity mean only Themselves, and their own Power. But if Means must give place to Ends, and Religion and the Good of the Church be prefer'd before the Power of any Set of Ecclefiasticks, the People must have a Right to make and unmake Ministers as they judg most convenient for the End the Ministry was defign'd. And if the End of the Ministry is the Good of the Church or People, that necessarily infers they have a Right to judg when they act for their good; which wou'd be to no purpose, if they had not a Power, as in all fuch Cases, to place or displace 'em, as they judg their own Good requires. And nothing can be more inconfiltent with the Good of the Church, than to suppose their Ministers act independently; fince then they have no hopes of any Redress, unless they, whose Temporal Interest chiefly consists in lording and domineering over God's Heritage, will rectify the Abuses they have introduc'd into the Church for the fake of their own Advantage. And,

14. Nothing can be more evident, than that too many of the Clergy prefer their own Temporal Interest before the Eternal Good of Mens Souls; fince when the Dif-

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puts

pute is only about the Mode of Church. Government, they wou'd rather a Man fhou'd continue with 'em, tho ever so wicked, than become ever fo religious by leaving their Communion; and therefore are for using Awes and Bribes to bring Men, tho against their Consciences, into their own Churches.

15. The Protestant condemn the Popul Clergy for being guilty of an abominable piece of Priestcraft, in supposing the Intention of the Minister necessary to the Validity of the Sacraments, and confequently to Salvation; as tending to keep the Laity in a miferable Subjection, and making their Salvation depend on a thing wholly out of their Power. And has not the making the Validity of the Sacraments to depend on their being administer'd by a Set of Ecclesiasticks, deriving their Power in a Line of Succession from the Apostles, the same effect? fince they are then bound to fubmit to their Yoke on pain of Damnation; and the Piety and Virtue of the People can no more contribute to this Succession, than to the Intention of the Prieft; nor are they better Judges in one Cafe than t'other. Is not making a Minister's forging his Orders, the Damnation of his Parish (the necessary Consequence of this Hypothesis) altogether as abfurd as the Doctrine of latention?

16. If the Office of a Clergyman was fo appropriated, that 'twas unlawful for others to meddle with it, they ought not to visit the Sick, reconcile Differences, or

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instruct one another in those Dutys they Chap. 4. owe to God and each other; which every one, as he has opportunity, is oblig'd to do: and that some have more convenience than others, depends on the People's allowing 'em a sufficient Maintenance wholly to attend that End. Every Christian is oblig'd to reprove, rebuke, admonifo, exhort and warn one another; and nothing can be plainer, than that their neglecting to do this to a Brother, tho a Clergyman, if he walk'd diforderly, and avoiding, if he was not reclaim'd, as far as conveniently they could, all Converse with him, has not a little contributed to the Immorality and Wickedness so common among em, especially to the Pride and Haughtiness of the Clergy, who wou'd think themselves affronted, shou'd the Laity presume to deal thus with Men of their Character. And 'tis no wonder there has been fuch a Neglect in this matter, fince People were made to believe this belong'd to the Clergy, as part of their Spiritual Jurisdiction; to meddle with which, they were told was no less than Sacrilege.

do all he can for the faving another's Soul, and therefore most things which the Clergy are oblig'd to perform are the Duty of every Man: and the there should be some things, which, considering the present Circumstances, cou'd not conveniently be left in common, yet that's for Order-say peculiar Spiritual Power or Privileges which

which those who are set apart for the doing 'em have from Heaven, fince others in some Circumstances are bound to do the fame.

18. Nay, were not all matters relating to the Polity of the Church of a mutable nature, the Office of Preaching, which the Clergy now appropriate to themselves, ought tobe, as in the Apostles Time, in common, when every one had a Right to exercise it. For St. Paul supposes the Laity as much bound to speak in their Religious Assemblys, as to assemble, making one the reason for the Heb. 10. other; for after he had said, Let us conf. der one another, to provoke unto Love and Good Works, he adds, not for saking the Afsembling of our selves together, as the manner of some is, but exhorting one another: And we are bid to do this, so much the more, as we see the Day approaching. So that now the Reason is by 1700 Years more forcible than it was then: And it the danger of being harden'd in Sin is at least as great now as it was then; is not the reason as strong for applying the Apo-Heb. 3.13. Stolick Remedy of exhorting one another

daily, while it is call'd to day, left any of you be harden'd thro the Deceitfulness of Sin? And as this Duty of Teaching and Admonishing one another, when met together, is frequently requir'd, so 'tis on Col. 3. 16. the highest Motives, such as, That the Word

of Christ may dwell in you in all Wisdom, and I Thest. 5. that you may comfort and edify one another. And tho there happen'd as great a Dif-

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by this Liberty of all, every one of the whole Chap. 4. Church one by one Preaching or Prophefying; yet the Apostle is for continuing this Practice, with only one Exception as to the Women, which infers the Right of the Men; and therefore labours to rectify the Abuses (which had not crept into other Churches of the Saints) by bidding 'em observe those Rules of Order and Decency, which made this Liberty practicable in other Affemblys. And we find the whole Church of Jerusalem (who as they were the first Converts, so they were very numerous, fince there were 3000 converted at one Sermon) all turn'd Preachers; for the Text faith, the Church was scatter'd abroad, and they who Asts 8.14. were scatter'd, preach'd the Word; so that there was a whole Army of Lay-Preachers: and'tis a Commendation given the Brethren, That many of 'em spoke the Word without Phil. 1.14. fear.

19. And this Liberty did not only cause the Brethren, as St. Paul bids 'em, to 1 Cor. 14. excel to the Edifying of the Church; and to 12. ipeak, as St. Peter requires 'em, as the Ora- 1Pet.4.10. cles of God: but it made 'em vie with one another in Love and Good Works, and was a great Incentive for the Clergy to do their best, lest they shou'd come behind their Brethren, who were oblig'd in their Publick Assemblies to bid 'em take heed to their Ministry, and to fulfil it; as the Colossians were to bid Archippus, a Fellow-Col. 4. 16, Soldier of the Apostles, to do, when they were 17. met together to read his Epistle. But when Philem. 2. this Custom was alter'd, and the Minister

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might

might broach what Dodrine he pleasid. without any of the Brethren daring to contradict him, the People became negligent and ignorant, and the Clergy had it in their Power to impose what selfish Doctrines they pleas'd: whereas if any of 'em before had offer'd at an Innovati, on, he wou'd have been oppos'd by the whole Congregation; and if he wou'd not have defifted, they wou'd not only have withdrawn their voluntary Contributions, by which he fubfifted, but have fhun'd him as a false Teacher, Seducer and Deceiver; which must have preserv'd Religion in its primitive Purity, the Peoples Temporal as well as Spiritual Interest obliging em to be strict Guardians of it against all such as had no ways of Lording it over God's Heritage, unless by pervertingit. And if not withstanding all this, things are fo alter'd, that there are now sufficient Reasons, as no Clergyman will I suppose deny, to forbid all except himself speaking in the Church; how can he pretend there's any thing relating to Ecclesiastical Discipline immutably fixt, fince there's nothing more positively requir'd, and upon stronger Motives, than this Duty of Teaching in Religious Assemblys from the Brethren? And what can one think of those Men, who dare affirm, That the Brethren are either forbid to speak in the Congregation by the Law of Christ, or that they are not capable of it for want of the Gift of the Holy Spirit, which they alone are empower'd to bestow on those they authorize

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to preach? Some fay, that the Laity have Chap. 4. power to preach Charitatively, but not Authoritatively: and one wou'd think they put a great stress on this Distinction, and therefore seem resolv'd not to preach Charitatively, lest it look like Lay-Preaching; for which if the Brethren are sufficiently authoriz'd, 'tis no great matter if they are not qualify'd for any Preaching which is not so.

20. The same Argument may be urg'd for the Laity's Baptizng; the Command given to the Apostles no more excluding 'em from that, than from Preaching or Receiving the Sacrament. But the Apostles, as the Persons then alone present, and who alone were either willing, or knew how to execute the Commission, were bid to profelyte People, by Teaching, and then Baptizing 'em: But after they had publish'd the Glad Tidings of Salvation, it became the Duty of the new Converts, according to their Abilitys and Opportunitys, to increase the Number of Christians; and therefore, as that very antient Author Pseudo-Ambrose \* observes, all at first \* Comm. taught and baptiz'd. And the Command in Eph. 4. given to the Apostles to Baptize, did not oblige 'em to do it themselves, but only to cause it to be done; and therefore St. Peter does not baptize Cornelius and his Houshold himself, but only commands it, Acts 10. and which must be perform'd by some of 48. the Brethren, because the Text saith, Ver. 23. there were none with him except certain Brethren. So that here even Lay-K 4

tiles, tho the Chief of the Apostles was And there were great Numpresent. Acts 8.12. bers in Samaria, who upon Philip's Preaching were baptiz'd; which, if done by him, cou'd be by no other Right than what was common to all Christians, because no such Power was included in his Commission of looking after the Poor; and 'twas that alone which diftinguish'd him from other Christians. And if it was done by others, the Converts muft baptize one another; at least, the Apostles being all at Jerusalem, there could be none except Brethren to perform it.

Acts 9.19. And as it was a Layman who baptiz'd the Great Apostle of the Gentiles; so he

1Cor.1.17. declares he was not fent by Christ to baptize but to preach: the meaning of which must be (his Commission no doubt being the fame with the other Apostles) That tho he was fent to preach the Christian Religion, and to teach 'em to make a publick Profession of it by Baptism; yet he was under no Obligation of doing it with

Josh. 5.2. his own Hands, any more than Joshua, who tho bid to circumcife the Israelites, was not oblig'd to perform the Operation himself. And in all probability, the servile Office of mushing the Filth of the Flesh, was left to the Meanest and Lowest: and there-

John 4. 2. fore our Saviour baptiz'd none himself, but lest it to the Disciples; as Peter did the Baptizing of Cornelius to the Brethren. And when the 3000 were converted and added to the Church the same day, the Apostles alone

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cou'd not baptize in fo short a time fo Chap. 4. many, confidering the way then was going down into the Water with the Person to be baptiz'd, and washing him all over. But I need not infift on the Power the Laity have to baptize from Scripture, fince the Clergy have all along allow'd the Validity of the Baptism not only of Laymen who were within the Church, but even of Schismaticks and Hereticks who were out of the Church: Nay, they have own'd that of Boys, tho done in sport and jest, to be good; witness the famous Story which Sozomen declares of Athanasius, That Lib.i.c.17. when a Boy, and at play with other Lads, he baptiz'd feveral of his Play-fellows, which upon a folemn Debate was esteem'd valid by the Bishop of Alexandria and his Clergy. And the Papists themselves, tho they will not allow the other Sacrament can be validly perform'd by any besides a Priest; yet they own that the Baptizing by Women is valid. So that the Alteration from the primitive Practice of every one's baptizing, can only be on the pretence of Order. And if every Christian is capable of performing the Substantials of Religion, which consist in offering up Prayers and Praises to God, and receiving both the Sacraments; 'tis abfurd to imagine he is not capable of fuch Circumstances, as Praying aloud, distributing the Bread and Wine (of which I have already spoken) or according to the present Mode, of sprinkling an Infant, and repeating a set Form of Words.

21. If

21. If it be a foolish and wicked Obstinacy to occasion the Destruction of
the Church for the sake of the Power of
any peculiar Persons, which can be of no
value or use, unless as 'tis for the Service
of the Church; no Set of Ecclesiasticks
can have an Independent Power by Divine
Right; because if they had, Men who must
not do Evil that Good may come of it, wou'd
be bound to adhere to them, tho it be in
such Circumstances that the inevitable Ruin

of the Church wou'd attend it.

22. No wife Man can doubt, that the Christians in the Mahometan Empire have all along acted very discreetly in submitting, upon being allow'd Liberty of Religion, to the Government's putting in and turning out their Bishops; since shou'd they have done otherwise, in all probability they wou'd have provok'd the Infidels to destroy the Church (as they have actually done in their African Territorys) within their Dominions: To this the Good of the Church, and not any Power the Infidels have in these Matters, obliges them to So the Reform'd in France did very well in acquiescing in a Presbyterian Form of Church-Government, what Kindness soever they might have for Bishops; if upon those Terms only, as some lay, they were to be allow'd a Toleration.

23. 'Tis no wonder, that all things relating to Church-Discipline are to be alter'd according to Circumstances; since those sometimes take off all Obligation to Church-Communion; as suppose one in a

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Country, where there's no Christian, is by Chap. 4. reading the Bible or otherwise convinc'd of the Truth of Christianity; in that case he is not bound by the Laws of Christ, which make no Alteration in his Civil State, to leave his Friends, Relations and Country, in order to be haptiz'd and join himself to any Church; and consequently he may be a good Christian without being a Churchman. And confidering what is generally meant by that Word, a Good Christian and a Good Churchman are, I am afraid, very inconfiftent. Nay, fuch may a Man's Circumstances be, as to be bound to leave all Church-Communion; as an Embassador from an Infidel, who during his Embassy becomes a Christian, is oblig'd to return, and remain at home, if the Service of his Country requires it, tho he cannot there have any Church-Communion. The Ethiopian Eunuch no doubt was a good Chriftian, tho he return'd to his own Country, where there was no Church or Christian befides himself, even before he had communicated with any Church whatever. And,

24. There are other Reasons why a Man may be of no Church; as if that where he lives imposes the Profession of such Opinions, as necessary to Communion, which he in Conscience cannot consent to; which, considering the imposing Temper of Churches, must needs frequently happen to a thinking Person. In this case, as he is bound not to communicate with that Church; so he is not oblig'd to forsake

his

\* In his Treatile. An fit femper communicandum

his Country to join with any other. Growing \* gives two other Reasons for abstaining from Communion.

First, when it is made a Test and a Mark of Distinction for a Party and a Faction: per Sym- and we are by it to fignify, that we reject and disown other good Christians, who agree with us in the Fundamentals of Religion, and live as piously as our felves. Which supposes that the Famous Groting was not only for Occasional Communion himself, but thought none were to be communicated with, who did not approve that charitable Principle.

> Secondly, when a Person by not communicating, where there are Partys, with either fide, may be in a better Capacity to exercise his Charity towards all. This he makes to be the Reason why St. Chryfostom for several years refus'd to communicate with the Partys where he liv'd; whose Example, he says, was afterwards follow'd by great numbers in Egypt and the

East.

25. So that it is the greater Good which is to determine Men in this Point; and the Generality may fafer venture to go to Pesthouses than to such Churches, where Charity, Moderation, and other Christian Virtues, so necessary to our future as well as present Happiness, are preach'd against; and Men are taught, on pretence of Zeal to Religion, to extirpate natural Pity, and to hate and molest innocent Persons for unavoidable differences of Opinion, even tho those Differences are never so explain'd,

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plain'd, as that the People have a just Chap. 4. Account of them; the Common Sort learning little elfe than to hate, without knowing why or wherefore, all whom their Parsons rail at. But not to di-

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26. Nothing can be plainer than that all those infinite Divisions, with their fatal Consequences, which have happen'd about Church-Discipline, Modes, Forms, or Ceremonys relating to Publick Worship, are wholly occasion'd by not allowing all things, which are only Means to an End, to be of a mutable nature, and to be determin'd by the Partys concern'd, as they think best. Were this once granted, thou'd have no more Quarrels about them, than about the Forms, Methods, and Modes of administring Justice, or any other Civil Affair: And were the Clergy, like Men of other Professions, content to claim no Right to their Employs, or to any Privileges, not in common with other Christians, besides what they deriv'd from Human Confent; not only those shame-ful Quarrels which divide the Protestants about the Divine Right of the Episcoparian, Presbyterian, Independent Forms of Church-Government, wou'd fall to the ground, but the Pope's Supremacy, and the whole Priesteraft of the Romish as well as of all other Churches, must inevitably fink. As this wou'd prevent all Schism on the account of Ecclesiastical Discipline, so did not Priests set themfelves in the place of God, and impioufly require

require a Divine Faith to be given to their dubious Inferences and uncertain Concluflons, and as fuch impose em on the People as necessary Terms of Communion, instead of letting every one, as the Law of God requires, judg for himself; there could be no Herefy on the account of Opinion, nor room for any Uncharitableness, Hatred or Persecution; but the Christian Religion won'd, as it was defign'd, render all its Votarys wonderfully happy: Then, and not till then, will the Communion of Saint be practicable; to which the Principles of all Partys, the Occasional Conformists only excepted, tho they all make it an Article of their Creed, stand in direct opposition.

27. That which is fo much for the Good of the Church, the only Reason of Church-Polity, cannot be contrary to the Will of God, who has oblig'd Mankind by the Law of Nature to act according to dicretion in all things which are only Means And can it be prefum'd, That God be came fuch an Enemy to the Christian Church, as to occasion, by depriving 'em of their Natural Liberty, fo great a Trans of Mischies? No, this cannot be said of an All-good and an All-wife Being; and confequently these owe their Onginal to the Ambition of fuch Men, whom nothing wou'd fatisfy besides governing the People arbitrarily and uncontrolably, and who have made no better use of their Power than to enslave all who Indinitted to it, and to render those mise rable who won'd not own it. And,

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Simplicity of the poor Laity, as to make 'em fight their Battels, and ruin and deftroy one another, upon this fingle Question, Whether they shou'd be Slaves (the necessary Consequence of a Divine unalterable Power) to this or that Set of Eccle-

fiafticks.

for instance, has our unhappy How, Land of late Years been harass'd upon a Point of no greater importance, than, Whether the same Ecclesiastical Power shou'd be in the hands of a single Person, or of feveral; in a Bishop, or a Bench of Presbyters? Good God! with what Uncharitableness, Malice, Fury and Rage, did the People, at the Infligation of the Priests, treat one another! From Persecuting they fell to Civil Wars, and then to Persecutions again, which must have deftroy'd the very Church they quarrel'd about, had not our Legislators, then fufficiently sensible of the Folly of being influenc'd by a Pack of defigning felf-interested Men, put a stop to these unchristian Practices, by a Law, worth all that the Revolution, as dear as it has been bought, has cost the Nation: and fince that time the People, notwithstanding their going to different Churches on Sundays, have treated one another like Brethren all the Week after; tho the Highfliers, who think themselves in a State of Persecution, while they are ty'd up from persecuting others, have ever fince the Death of the late King affifted by the profess'd Jacobites and Papilts.

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pists, done their utmost to disturb the grow. ing Quiet of the Nation, and to fet all things in confusion, in hopes of breaking in on the Sacred Act of Toleration.

29. Which is not fo much to be wonder'd at, fince the Generality of the Ecclefiafticks in most Places, by the Church seem to mean only Themselves, and by Religion only their own Power and Dominion; and look onevery thing else as of a mutable nature, either Good or Bad, as it makes for or against this End.

The Cause of the Church, taking it in this fense, shall fanctify all manner of Calumnys, Lyes and Frauds, as well as all oppressive and

violent Methods.

To this the Peace, Quiet and Welfare of their Country shall be facrific'd: For this Charity, Benevolence, Moderation, mutual Forbearance, and all other Christian Virtues shall be ridicul'd, and their Contrarys cry'd up as the only Virtues: For this the Christian World has in a manner been perpetually engag'd in Wars, ever fince it had the Power of the Sword.

30. 'Twas by these Methods that Popery, which is High-Church with a vengeance, fo far prevail'd as to swallow up all Religion; and 'twas the Business of the Reformation to rescue Religion from the all-devouring Jaws of that High-Church. Our first Reformers were as Low for Church, as they were High for Religion: And as they own'd all for their Brethren, who separated from the Errors of Popery, how much soever they differ'd from 'em

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32. and I broug in their Forms of Ecclesiastical Govern-Chap. 4? ment; so they did what was possible to root out all Claim in the Clergy to an Independent Power. And 'tis the Laws made to this end, which the Highshiers now rail at as destructive of the Rights of the Church; and treat not only the present Bishops, but Archbishop Cranmer, and the rest of the Reformers, with as much Bitterness as the Jesuits themselves do. But,

'Tis no wonder the Highfliers treat 'em fo, fince in all their Notions concerning the Power of the Clergy, they are too High for the Reformation, as they are too Low in Matters of Morality: tho some fay, that their Lives might serve for a very good Rule, if Men wou'd act quite contrary to them; for then there's no Christian Virtue which they cou'd fail of ob-

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31. And here I must take notice, that never did any Men more grossy and notoriously facrifice the Ends of both Civil and Ecclesiastical Government to very Unsit, or rather No Means, than those Protestants who were in the Interest of the Abdicated King; and are now in that of his Pretended Son, nurs'd up in Popery, French Tyranny, and a settled Hatred to the English Nation; and whose Coming in (which God avert) as it must be attended with a Civil War, so it will unavoidably introduce both Popery and Slavery.

32. It shows to what a degree of Folly and Madness men nurs'd in Bigotry can be brought, when they shall not only rejoice

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at the Misfortunes which befal their Country, but contribute all they can towards them, by increasing our Divisions at home, and endeavouring to render all our Attempts abroad ineffectual; and in a word. do their utmost to facrifice the Protestant Religion and the Libertys of all Europe to the Ambition of the French Tyrant: for which they can have nothing to plead, but that this may enable him to impose on us the pretended fames III. not as a King, but a Viceroy over a Conquer'd Province, as we must inevitably be, if this Tory Scheme succeeds; for then it will be too late to think of putting any Bounds to his Power or our Mifery. Where's the Difference between our felves destroying the best Religion and the best Constitution, the only valuable things with respect to this Life or the next; or putting it in the Power of the fworn Enemy of both to do it? Nothing can equal the Wickedness of fuch a Design, except the Folly of thinking our Religion and Libertys fafe if that fucceeds. For if the French King be once for strong, that nothing can hinder him from imposing on the Nation a Prince, to whom upon the account of his Religion and French Education they have a mortal Aversion, and whom by the strictest Oaths they are bound to oppose; what can prevent him from imposing any thing else, when he is so much the more powerful by having plac'd his Deputy here? Can our Religion be fafe in the hands of an implacable Bigot, or our Libertys fecure in

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the Power of a Tyrant, who uses his own Chap. 4. People, especially those who secur'd him the Crown, fo inhumanly? A thing very well

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33. This Conduct ought to be less wonder'd at, when 'tis consider'd, that both the Swearing and Nonfwearing Jacobites believe the Absolute Power of Kings, and the Succession in the Right Line, to be the Doctrine of the Christian Religion; which fo prevail'd in former Reigns, as to be held the Characteristical Mark of a True Church-man: and therefore none of 'em cou'd be brought to acknowledg it lawful upon any account whatever to exclude the Duke of York from the Succession. But to return.

34. The Reasons for the Mutability of Ecclefiastical Polity, and the Necessity of all Communitys having a Right to vary and alter it as they fee occasion, are as many, as the Circumstances, Conditions, Inelinations, Tempers and Prejudices of Mankind are various. And all things which are only Means to an End, are to be dealt with as the Brazen Serpent among the Israelites; which when of use to cure Distempers, was justly reverenc'd by them, but when it prov'd the occasion of Superstition, the good Use it had before, hinder'd it not from being stamp'd to Pouder.

If a Physician varies his Medicines, as he finds the Constitution of his Patient alters, why must not the same be observed with relation to the Mind; and the Body Politick?

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## The Rights of the

Politick, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil, dealt with after the same manner as the

Body Natural.

35. We find all wife Legislators, in the framing of their Laws, have had special regard to the Tempers, Inclinations, and Prejudices, as well as to the Circumstances under which their Subjects lay; and from time to time made fuch Alterations relating to the Polity of the Church and State, as

the Posture of Affairs requir'd.

So our late Pious King, at the Request of his Subjects in Scotland, restor'd Presbytery; the Persecution which the Episcoparians had been guilty of, at the instigation of the Papists, having given the People a general Dissatisfaction. And our most Gracious Queen promises to maintain the Presbyterian Discipline in Scotland, not that she thinks Episcopacy, as the Law vid. Lord made by her Grandfather for abolishing it in that Kingdom declares, Repugnant to the don's Hist. Word of God; but acts herein upon the fame Motive as the late King of Glorious Memory. And we can't enough admire her Majesty's great Wisdom, who considers Discipline as made for the Church, and not the Church for That; and therefore is not for forcing any particular Form on the Churches within her Dominions, difagreeable to them: but as she is for maintaining Episcopacy in England, yet allowing a Toleration to fuch as can't comply with it, so she is for Presbytery in Scotland. Her Majesty's acting after this most prudent manner, being so much for the

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general Good of her Subjects, they can't Chap. 4. too gratefully acknowledg it; especially considering not only how much these Nations have fuffer'd by a contrary Method, but how impossible it is, that during so expensive a War they otherwise cou'd subsist; and that the only way to keep the Ecclefiaflicks, of any fort whatever, within tolerable Bounds, is to have 'em thus on their Good Behaviour, But,

36. I need not infift on the Conduct even of the wifest of human Governors; since God himself, when he condescended to act as King of the Jews, had in enacting their Laws, especially the Ecclesiastical, great regard not only to the Circumstances the Jews were in with relation to other Nations, but to their own unaccountabe Prejudices, gross Ignorance, profound Stupidity,

and Hardness of Heart.

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37. Since Infinite Wisdom can't but contrive the best, the Jewish Laws, how odd foever they may feem at this diftance, were no doubt the best for the Fews when they were fram'd, as most adapted to their Circumstances. What Solon faith of the Athenian Laws, That tho they were not absolutely the Best, yet they were the Best that People cou'd bear, may be very well apply'd to the Laws given to the Jews; fince it can't be suppos'd, that at any time they were the best for other Nations, or for the Jews themselves in all Circumstances: for then Peter wou'd not have call'd them, A Yoke which neither we nor our Fa- Acts 15.10. thers cou'd bear.

And were it not for this 38. If among the Jews there was a fre-

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Deur. 4. 6. ven that Law by Moses and the Psalmit Ps. 19. 7,8. wou'd be utterly inconsistent with what is said of it by the Prophers and in the New

Testament. And,

quent Necessity of Change, and God as their King, to whom they might on occasion appeal, not only directed 'em what to do in doubtful Cases, but when any Law by alteration of Circumstances happen'd to be inconvenient, dispens'd with the Observation of it, in preferring Mercy before Sacrifice; and yet their Body of Laws became an intolerable Burden, or in the Prophet's words, Laws that were not Good, and Judgments by which they could not live; infomuch that God thought it necessary for the Good of that People wholly to abrogate 'em, even tho he had declar'd more than once they shou'd last for ever: I may add, that had God add as King of any other Nation, their Laws, whether relating to Ecclesiasticals or Civils, wou'd have as much differ'd from these of the Jews as their Circumstances; and that they wou'd have been alter'd by him from time to time as their Condition require, as 'tis practis'd in all other Governments. These things, I say, plainly show, That where God acts not as a Political Prince in making Alterations from time to time, there can be nothing relating to Ecclesiastical Polity obligatory, except general Rules, fuch as doing all things for the

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Honour of God, for Edification, Peace, Order, Chap. 4. Decency, &c. and that Men are to alter and vary all Means, as seems best to that Discretion God has given them for this End; and that this must be necessarily so, where a Religion is not only to last to the End of the World, but in time to extend to all the Nations of it. And considering how widely different Nations are in all Circumstances and Respects, there can be no particular Form of Church-Polity which must not somewhere or other be prejudicial to the End it was instituted for

59. One grand Cause of Mistake in this Matter is, not confidering when God acts as Governor of the Universe, and when as Prince of a particular Nation. The Jews, when they came out of the Land of Bondage, were under no fettled Government, till God was pleas'd to offer himself to be their King, to which all the People ex-Exod. 19. prefly confented; and upon the Govenant's being ratify'd after the most solemn man-Deur. 5. ner which cou'd be, God gave 'em those Laws which bound no Nation except those that had agreed to the Horeb Contract. But were these that are now Christians, without any Government upon Christ's coming into the World? Or did God by Christ make any fuch Contract as that of Horeb with them? Or did Christ act, like Moses, as God's Viceroy? No, he came as a private Person, whose Kingdom is not of this World, to give not one Nation only, but all Mankind, Precepts relating to our Duty

to one another as well as to God, without depriving any of the Right they were invested with: and consequently in whose hands the determining of Civil or Eccle-fiastical Matters were before his Coming, in

those he left them. And,

40. All we are to learn from the Discipline of the Primitive Christians, or the Directions they receiv'd from inspir'd Perfons, is not that we are oblig'd to observe the fame, but that like them we act agreeably to the Circumstances we are in. 'Twas this Confideration which quickly caus'd the Apostolick Command of Saluting with a Holy Kiss, to be laid aside; and the same Reason abrogated the whole Order of Deaconesses, and imploy'd Deacons to other Purposes than ferving of Tables, the only Reason of their Institution. So that Deaconship, when it was no longer imploy'd in looking after the Poor, became a new Office under an old Name: and Epifcopacy it felf, as diffinct from, and superior to Presbytery, must likewise be reckon'd a new Office; since Presbyter and Bishop in the New Testament are always us'd fynonymously: there being no Election or Ordination, Character, or any thing else to distinguish 'em; but the Office of both is made to confift in doing the same things. So that all the Skill of the Prelatists is not able to discover the least distinction; and 'tis impossible the Apostles shou'd constitute distinct Offices, and yet no where distinguish 'em, but on the contrary, every where represent 'em the same, 25

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as if it were on purpose to confound those Chap. 4. Functions in the Church, the distinguishing of which is generally supposed essential to its Being. How unlike is this to the Case of the Jewish Occonomy, where even the minutest Matters are described with the nicest Exactness?

Nature, oblige us now by virtue of the Commands given to the first Christians, why are not the Sick anointed with Oil? and why do not Men abstain from Blood and Things strangled, forbid with the greatest Solemnity imaginable? What can be more strictly requir'd than to wash one another's Feet? one of the last Commands of our dying Lord; which the more to enforce, he not only sets his Disciples a Precedent, but declares that He who is not wash'd has no part Joh. 13. in him.

42. If there are feveral Things not obligatory to us now, tho injoin'd the first Christians even in the same Precept with those which are, as Oil with Prayers, Blood and Things strangled with Fornication; what other way can we distinguish 'em, than that Moral things being on their own account eternally obligatory, must bind us as well as them; but that other Things, which by reason of their Circumstances oblig'd them, do not bind us? For whatever obliges all Mankind, and at all Times, must be declar'd to do so, either by Reason or Scripture. Now it cannot be pretended that by Reason any but Moral Things are obligatory, under which I reckon those general

raid Rules relating to Ecclefiaftical Polity given to no purpose, if the Partys concern'd had not a Power to apply 'em as they faw occasion. Nor can it be faid that by Scripture, Things which are not of Moral nature bind all Mankind in all Ages. because there are no Texts relating to em fo extensive as to reach future Generations: and if things by being barely enjoin'd the first Disciples, affected Posterity, all things required of tem equally would and fine hit must happen that particular Praction will be inconfiftent with general Rule, there's a nocessity that one must give place to the other; and which should, I need not determine handmo Lettrone of the

43. The Clengy pretend it was necessary for the Being of the Church, that the A. postles should have a Right to govern the they converted, antecedent to their Conversion; and that for the continuance of the Church, they were to convey this Power to others, and they again, on to the Endor thole which are, as Oi

the World. But, This is most certain, that where God requires Things to be done, and appoint not any certain Persons to do 'em, or orders who shall, of common Right if belongs to the Partys concerned to determine among thomselves who shall have the doing of em; and therefore the Apollis having a Divine Commission to conver Men to Christianity, did not hinder the Converts from having a Right to orderal Things, which requir'd a special Determ nation, according to those Rules they taught

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44. If one might teach Men to form themselves into a Civil Society, without thereby acquiring a Right to govern 'em, tho he acted by a Divine Commission. there can be no pretence why it might not be the same in relation to forming Men into an Ecclefiaftical Society. And the Apostles requiring People to observe certain Rules in their Assembling to worship God, and to have Ministers fo and so qualify'd, necessarily supposes the Power relating to these Things to be fundamentally lodg'd in the People; otherwise they may either be oblig'd to be without any Worthip, or go contrary to these Rules, and fabmit to Ministers who have not the Apostolick Qualifications, as they do at prefent in almost all places where the Priests act independently. Shou'd any Missionarys now-a-days convert Nations of Infidels, tho that wou'd not give 'em a Right to govern 'em; yet their Converts wou'd no doubt be willing to be directed by 'em in the management of their Ecclesiastical Concerns, as those the Apostles converted were by them; who having the Power of differning Spirits, and bestowing extraordinary Qualifications for the discharge of the Ministerial Function, were in duty bound to recommend Ministers, and the People oblig'd to receive 'em, not for any

Pominion or Power the Apostles had over 'em, but for the Good of their Souls; as for the Good of their Bodys, they are to submit to the Prescription of able Physicians. And had any now-a-days the Power of bestowing extraordinary Qualifications for the discharge of the Civil Ministry, the State no doubt wou'd be bound for its own Good to imploy such as had those Qualifications given 'em; and yet that wou'd not hinder but the whole Power wou'd be still in the State.

who affirm the People are divested of the Power of managing their Ecclesiatical Concerns, according to the general Rules of the Gospel, to show that the Government they contend for was of the Apostolick Age, or that there are Commands of submitting to it, for so there are to the Roman Emperors. No, they ought to produce some positive Depriving Law, reaching to all Christians in all Ages, as plain and express as the Law of Nature which gives the People this Right; and it ought as plainly to appear in what Set of Men this Power is immutably invested. But.

into the New Testament, will be so far from finding any such Law, that he must perceive, especially by the General Epistles, that as each Church was without any Subordination or Dependence on any other, so all things relating to Decency, Order, Peace, Ediscation, the Suppression

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of Scripture-Schisms, or any other point Chap. 4. of Discipline, belong'd to the People, or in other words the Brethren, the Faithful, the Belov'd of God, the Elect, the Saints, to whom these Epistles were address'd. As God is to judg those without, so they are I Cor. s. to judg those within, or their own Mem- 12, 13. 'Tis they, as the Apostle tells the People of Corinth, who are to purge the old Ver. 7. Leven, and to put away the wicked Person: and therefore he blames 'em for not censuring, when they were gather'd together, the Ver. 4, 5. incestuous Corinthian; which Censure of theirs he afterwards calls the Punishment 2 Cor. 2. 6. inflicted of the Many. And as the Brethren, the Spiritual Brethren, are to restore one Gal. 6. 1. taken in a Fault; so they are to warn the I Theff.s. Unruly, and to fee that none render Evil for 14, 15. Evil, and to mark those who cause Offences, 17. and avoid them; and not to keep Company iCor. s. 11. with a Brother that's covetous, or a Drunhard, Railer, Fornicator, &c. And Clemens Romanus, whom I mention with the Apostles, because he was, as (a) Bishop Fell, one of the Editors of his Epistle to the Corinthians, fays, an Author antienter than some of the Writings even of the New Testament, and read with 'em publickly in the Churches, being by most esteem'd as a Person inspir'd by God: He, I say, calls the Censures of the Epist. ad Church, Things commanded by the People. Corinth. Ed. Oxon.

4to.

<sup>(</sup>a) Author novi Testamenti ipsius scriptis nonnullis antiquior; & in Ecclesiis una cum ipsis publice lectus, & tanquam θεόπνεςος a plerisque habitus.

Acts II.

2 Cor. 8.

19, 23.

22.

And in the Apostolick Age we hear only of Diotrephes, who fo far affected Pre-eminence as to presume by his single Authority to throw Men out of the Church: and it would be transcribing a great part of the Epistles, to show how all things relating to Edifica. tion, Peace, Order, Decency, are refer'd to the People. And tho the Epistle to the Phi. lippians is directed to the Bishops and Deacons, I mean in due order after the People, viz. to the Saints with their Bishops and Deacons, vet there's nothing in particular address'd to Them, but there as well as every where elfe. all is to the Body of the People. And a 'tis plain, by the General Epistles, that all Church-Power was in the People; fo we find em, before these were written, exercising this Power: for they voted not only in the Ads 6. 5. Election of Deacons, but even in the making an Apostle, they first appointed out of their Number two as Candidates for the Apostle fhip; and then, according to the Jewish Cut Acts 1.22. tom, determin'd the Person by giving forth their Lots. So it was they who fent forth Barnabas, and they appointed Companions and Assistants for the Apostle Paul in his Travels; whom he terms the Apostles of the Churches, and the Glory of Christ. And if they were thus concern'd in chusing extraordinary Ministers, it can't be thought but they exercis'd the same Power in chusing the Ordina ry: and therefore tho the Apostles, as chief Directors, are faid to ordain, yet it was, as their Cotemporary Clemens Romanus affuro Cor. p. 5,7. us, with the Confent of the whole Church; or a

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by holding up the Hands of the People, the Chap. 4.
usual way of expressing their Consent. At
the samous Council of Jerusalem, the Brethren were concern'd as well as the Apostles Acts 15.
and Elders; and the Letters were written in 23.
the name of these three Orders: and as tis lbid.
in the Church, which in Scripture always
signifies the People, that our Saviour places Mat. 18.17.
the dernier Resort, so we find the Apostles
themselves think it their Duty to give an
account of their Actions to them, as Peter Acts 11.4.
did in the Case of Cornelius. And,

47. The Apostles, as appears by their Commission, had no Power besides what was miraculous, except to declare his Will by whom they were commission d, 1 Cor. 7.6. and where they do not act as his Messengers 2 Cor. 9.7. or Embassadors, to pretend only to offer Advice; and they do not preach themselves (as they wou'd, had they any Law-making Power) but Christ, and themselves their (the 2 Cor.4.5. Peoples) Servants for Jesus Sake. Nay, St. Paul faith, 'Tis the Man of Sin, the Son 2 Theff.2. of Perdition, the Adversary, who exalts him- 3, 4. felf above all that is call'd God, or worship'd; he as God sitting in the Temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Which Character, as it can't belong to any Heathen, because none of 'em can be faid to sit in the Temple of God; fo no Christian Layman, on this petence, exalts himfelf above all Sovereign Powers, who in Scripture are stil'd Gods: and consequently it must denote an Ecclesiastick, who on pretence of Sitting (a word fignifying Authority) in the Temple or Church of God, claims the

Govern-

Government of the Church to himself, and confequently Power over these Gods of the Earth, as his Subjects in Ecclesiasticals: and Ver. 9, 10. this he brings about by the effectual Working of Satan, with all his Power, and Signs, and lying Wonders, and in all the Undeceivableness of Unrighteousness: or in other words, by holy Cheats, fham Miracles, and all manner of Lies and Forgerys; fuch as claiming a judicial Power of Binding and Loofing, a Power of giving the Holy Ghoft, conferring Grace, &c. And this is agreeable to what our Saviour declares, That there shall arise false Christs and false Prophets, and shall shew great Signs and Wonders; so that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very And the Antichrist in the Prophetick Stile, is describ'd as a single Person; yet his Name is Legion, fince all are more or less concern'd, who claim an Independent Power, and by virtue of it exalt the Church above the State, and the Clergy above the Laity. But 'tis not strange this Mystery of Iniquity shou'd have spread it self far and wide, fince it was working even in the Apostles time. But of this more here-

> after. 48. What's chiefly urg'd to encounter these and a great number of other Proofs to be mention'd hereafter, are either Texts of the Old Testament relating to the Jewish Government, which every body may see are foren to the Matter; or else figurative Expressions of Binding and Looling; which did they belong to the Ministers in a peculiar manner, as 'tis plain from Scrip'

Mat. 24. 24.

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ture they do not; yet they who urge 'em Chap. 43 dare not stand by such a Sense as gives 'em a Judicial Power: or elfe they are fuch Phrases as Know them who labour among you, I Thest. I. and are your Leaders in the Lord, or as we 12. translate it, are over you in the Lord; or, Remember your Guides who have spoken to Heb. 13. 7. youthe Words of the Lord; or, Be perfuaded Heb. 13.17. by your Guides, which we render, Obey those who have the Rule over you, tho the word πέιθεθε, as often as it occurs, is never tranflated fo in any other Place. And tho 'tis faid in the fame Verse, Submit to them; yet fo are the Younger bid to do to the Elder: 1 Pet. 5. 5. nay which is more, all are commanded to be subject to one another. As these Texts interpret one another, so to take 'em in a strict sense is not only contrary to Reafon, but to a great number of plain Texts; which oblige Men to try, examine, and judg the Doctrine of their Guides; and if they take 'em to be Seducers, Deceivers, or falle Teachers, to avoid and fly from 'em. And if they are to treat 'em thus, not only on account of their Doctrines, but Lives, as the Rule extends to all immoral Men without the least exception; they have all the Power over their Guides which tis possible for Men to have on a Church-Account: Since separating from 'em for any of these Reasons, and owning 'em still for Guides, are inconsistent. And this last is so much the Right of the People, that we find as late as the third Century, a Council where St. Cyprian was President, applauding the People of Spain for depoling

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a Couple of ill Bishops, and chusing others in their (a) Places. And in their Synodical Epistle they tell 'em, "That what they did was according to Divine Laws; and that if they had continu'd to communicate with 'em, they had been accessary to their Guilt, and offended against those Commands which oblige Men to separate from a Priest who is a Sinner; and that it principally belong'd to them to chuse Worthy, and reject Unworthy Priests. And after the same manner St.

L.4. c. 44. Irenaus declares himself. But, Fol. Gen.

49. I can't omit the Texts, which the Clergy suppose gave the Apostles a Right, not only to govern the Church themselves, but upon their Decease to appoint Successors, with an Authority for them to name theirs, so that the Succession might be continued to the end of the World; and they are a piece of a Verse in John the 20th, As my Father sent me, so send I you; join'd with a part of a Verse in the last of Matthew, Lo I am with you to the End of the World.

Christ, as appears by the foregoing Verse, tho he had all Power given him after his Resurrection, yet he gives none to his Disciples further than authorizing, or rather requiring 'em to teach Nations to observe all things, whatsoever he had commanded 'em. So that the Sense in which

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<sup>(</sup>a) Epist. 68. S. 138. p. 200. Cyprian. Oper. Fol. Edir. Sim. Gouland. apud Johan. le Preux. 1593.

the Apostles were fent by Christ, as he was Chap. 4. by God, was not to do their own Will, but his who fent 'em, or, as St. John explains it, To declare what they had seen and heard: In the doing of which Christ promises to be with 'em all the days even to the end of the Age, for so it is in the Original. Now if it be unnatural to extend to other Perfons a Promise given to the Apostles, to enable 'em to execute what they alone were intrusted to do, and in performing which they cou'd have no Successors; all the Power the Clergy claim by these Texts falls to the ground: and if For ever, till the Coming of the Lord, and fuch like Expressions which occur in Scripture, extend no further than the Persons they are spoken to. tho they do not live for ever, or till the Coming of the Lord; there can be no pretence why this Promise shou'd reach further than the Apostles, and the Age they were to live and spend in that Employ, for the fake of which the Promise was given. But if it must extend to all other Ages, what Reason can there be for this gross Partiality of confining it to the Clergy, and not letting it extend to the Church or Body of Christians, who in all Nations, by means of the Apostles, were to be converted? Are they not just mention'd before, and are not they the Body which Christ as the Head is constantly with? and have not the Lay as well as the Clergy the Promise of the Spirit? Or does it appear by the Conduct of the Clergy, that Christ is more with them than with the Laity? But suppose the M 2 Pro-

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Promise was made to the Clergy alone, they cannot pretend that Christ is with them as he was with the Apostles, or that he said. As I send you, so send you others, and they on to the end of the World, or that these Words immediately follow'd one another. So that tho it be taken for granted that the Government of the Church was in the A. postles, and the Promise was made to the Clergy exclusively of all others, the Queftion will be, whether Christ's faying, I am with you to the end of the World, fignifies any more than walking with them, never leaving or for saking them, being in the midst of 'em; Phrases which import God's peculiar Care and watchful Providence over them. Does Christ, when he fays, He will be in the midst of two or three gather'd together in his Name, give 'em the Government of the Church, with power to appoint their Succeffors? And they who think that a Right to govern the Church by way of Succession from the Apostles, with a power to communicate it to others, must be included in this Expression of Christ's being with them, must either think there's no other way of his being with 'em, than by giving 'em Power over the Church; or that whenever they get this Power, God is with'em And one would be apt to suspect that this was the Sense of too many of the Clergy in most Ages, since that has been their fole Aim, and they have equally embrace all means which ferv'd to promote it But what mainly contributed to rob the Body of the Faithful of these glorious Pri vileges

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vileges and Powers, which by Scripture be-Chap. 4. long to 'em under the name of the Church, is the Clergy's applying that Word to themselves, exclusively of all others. And tho the Method of retaining Names when Things are alter'd, is what Tyrannys generally practife, in order to make the Change more easily go down with the unthinking Multitude; yet this has been no where practis'd with success as in Ecclesialtical Matters, and the Christian World has been infinitely abus'd by new Senses being put on the words Church, Schism, Heresy, and such like.

50. What I have mention'd here concerning the Government of the Church from Scripture, is to prevent the Reader from being so intirely posses'd with a Belief of the Clergy's having a Divine Right to it, as to be deaf to all the Arguments from Reason to the contrary. And lest he shou'd imagine that Things relating to Ecclesiastical Discipline were always as at prefent they are, I shall beg leave to hint at the great Remains of the Primitive Democratical Form even in the third Century; and to that end shall only quote the tamous Cyprian, who flourish'd in the middle of it, the rather because he says, 'tis a dangerous thing for any in Divine Matters to recede Ep. 73. from his full Power and Authority. therefore it cannot be presum'd, had he thought the Government of the Church by Divine Right belong'd to the Clergy, but he wou'd have forbid the Laity from facrilegiously meddling with it. But he,

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good

good Man, on the contrary declares, That Ep.6. S.5. he was refolv'd to do nothing by his own private p. 17. Judgment without the Confent of the People of his District; and that all Affairs, as their mutual Honour requir'd, shou'd be debated in And accordingly he professes him. Common. felf not fufficient to judg of the Misdemea-Ep.28.5.2. nors of two Subdeacons and an Acolyth, p. 62. but fays, they ought to be try'd by all the People. Ep.40.5.1. So he declares the Schism of Felicissimus was to be judg'd according to the Arbitriment and p. 94. common Counsel of the People; and that the Ep.10.§.4. Laps'd were not to be absolv'd, tho in a time of Persecution, till Peace was restord p. 30. Ep. 55. S. to the Church, that they might plead their 17. P.143. Cause before all the People. So he affirms, that Ep.40.\$.1. who foever was excommunicated, it was by p. 92. the Suffrages of the People. And as Ponting his Deacon fays, That he was made Bishop In vita by the Grace of God, and the Favour of the Cyprian. Ep. 15, 11, People; fo he himself in several Epistles ac-40. knowledges he ows his Advancement to them; and not only declares that in all Or-Ep. 34. dinations he acted by their common Counfel, Ep. 68. but makes it a General Practice, and of Apostolick Observation, and of Divine Institution, for the Bishop to be chosen by the Suffrages of the People, to which he adds the Judgment and Advice of the neighbouring Bishops: not that we can suppose he thought they had an equal Authority with the People in this Matter, because that wou'd be inconfiftent with what both he and these Bishops had declar'd in their Synodical Epistle before quoted, that Plebs maxime habet Potestatem vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes vel indignos recu-51. And fandi.

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51. And 'twas not in Matters of the Chap. 4. greatest moment, but in all others, as he owns, that the People were concern'd: as Ep.6. §.5. for instance, a Letter cou'd not be sent to P. 17. a foren Church before the Brotherhood a-Ep. 58.5.2. greed to it, nor one receiv'd before it was p. 163. read to them all; whom he treats with Ep. 55. S. the highest Respect, as may be seen by the 21. p.144. Titles he bestows on them, as that 'tis against the (a) Faithful and Uncorrupted Majesty of the People for any who are without to judg of their Bishops. And as he gives no less Epithet to the Votes of the People in Excommunication than (b) Divine, fo he terms their Persons (c) Most Holy. And indeed nothing was more common than to bestow the highest Title, such as the Pope and other great Church-Dons now referve to themselves, on the People: and the higher you go, the greater Veneration will you find paid them. St. Ignatius tells Polycarp, That he was not only per- Ep. ad Posonally to know his whole Flock, but to carry lycar.p.13. himself with all Humility to serving-Men and Maids. And the Divine Clemens Romanus professes so high a Respect for the People, that he Ep. 1. ad wou'd have every one fay, that to avoid all Cor. p.69. Contest on his account he was ready to depart, and go wherever the People please, and to do whatever they shall enjoin him. And where he

<sup>(</sup>a) Plebis intus positæ sidelis atque incorrupta Majestas. Ep. 59. p. 138. Ox. Edit.

<sup>(</sup>b) Secundum vestra Divina Judicia conjurati.

<sup>(</sup>c) Sanctissimæ Plebi. Ep. 55. S. 21. p. 144.

M 4 blames

blames 'em, 'tis not for assuming a Power not belonging to 'em, but for making a wrong use of it, in turning out such Bishops as they themselves had chosen, and who serv'd the Flock of Christ with all Humility, &c. And therefore he compares 'em to those who abus'd a rightful Power in punishing Daniel, &c. And herein these Persons say nothing difagreeable to the Senfe of St. Paul, who as he forbids the People to glory in their Teay Cor. 3. chers, tho Apostles, so he says, That They 21,22,23. and all Things (meaning all they could do) are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's. Had there been any fuch Climax fpoken concerning the Clergy, that the People and all things are theirs, and they are Christ's, and Christ is God's; we should have had perpetual Harangues about it, ef-

52. The most antient Fathers acknowledg that they owe all unto and receive all from the Church or People. Hence Tertullian takes it, in building Arguments

pecially from our Modern Divines.

De Casti- on it, for a receiv'd and unquestionable tat.

Truth, "That the Distinction between the Laity and Clergy was owing to the

"Church; That otherwise Laymen might exercise the Priestly Office, Christ having made us all Priests to God; and

that where three are gather'd together in Christ's Name, there's a Church, tho

"God, that at all times we shou'd be capable of the Sacraments. And 'tis plain

from this Father, That the Heterodox not only allow'd Laymen to be capable of ex-

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exing ercifing Ecclesiastical Functions, but en-Chap. 4. join'd 'em fo to do: and therefore as to the Capacity of the Laity for these Functions, the whole Christian World was agreed, tho the Heterodox were more on their guard against Priestcraft, since to prevent it, they had a fort of Rotation of Ecclesiastical Offices; for Tertullian fays, "With them one Ibid. " to day is a Bishop, to morrow another; " a Deacon this day becomes a Reader the " next; a Presbyter to day, is to morrow But had there been at first " a Layman. fo great a Distinction between the Clergy and the Laity as obtain'd afterward, there can be no doubt, feeing they have every where grown on the Laity, but they wou'd have been able to hinder 'em from usurping on their Divine Rights. And therefore whatever Privileges or Powers they enjoy'd, especially so early as this, we may justly conclude they had from the Beginning of Christianity.

93. Had the Scripture been filent, the Presumption wou'd have been, That the first Christians in their several Congregations manag'd their Concerns by a Majority; as all private voluntary Societys, where the Members are independent of one another, at first do, till either the Greatness of the Numbers, or the Designs of the leading Men, make 'em alter this Method. And this Presumption is the more reasonable, since the Places where the Gospel was at first preach'd, were petty Commonwealths, which manag'd not only their Ecclesiastical but Civil Assairs, I mean what

the

the Romans left to 'em, after a Popular And tho the Account we have manner. from Antiquity is obscure, and perhaps fometimes purposely so; yet so far 'tis plain, That in the Ecclesiastical Assemblys of the first Christians, all the People had Votes, and that one of their Presbyters was the President, who by degrees, tho not till after Irenaus's time, appropriated the Name of Bishop to himself (which yet no more made him of a distinct Order, than a Prolocutor wou'd be, if he had that Name given him) and the rest of the Presbyters were a standing Committee to prepare Matters for the Grand Assembly of the People. But when by the Largeness of the Districts, and the Multitude of Converts belonging to 'em, this Method became impracticable, the Clergy made their Advantage of it, in getting the Management of all Ecclesiastical Affairs into their own hands, except the Right of chusing Bishops, which the People preserv'd for a considerable time longer. And as the Presbyters got all the Power from the People, fo the President or Bishop extended his Power over both; which the Prefbyters bore the more contentedly, because, belides the Prospect of being advanc'd to that high Office, the greatness of which in some measure redounded to all their Honour, they cou'd, by being united to their Bishop as their Head, keep the People better in subjection. Nay, there was a Necessity in the greater Districts, where the Clergy were too numerous, and at

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too great a distance to assemble upon all Chap. 4. occasions, to place a great Power in the Bishop's hands, which they very well knew how to improve; and the other Bishops were without question very fond of copying after such Precedents. And as 'tis not unufual for fuch as in the beginning are left more at liberty to work themselves into a stricter and preciser Form of Government, each Officer, tho under the same Name, endeavouring to enlarge and aggrandize the Power of his Office; so we must allow, that by this or fome fuch Method the Bishops obtain'd their Power over their Fellow-Presbyters, and both over the People; fince the Gospel is to far from bestowing on either such Power, that its whole Tenor is directly contrary to

54. 'Tis easy to observe, That as great Changes happen in the World in a lefs space of time, where the People are more wary, more careful in watching, and more inclin'd to oppose Changes, than they were at the beginning of Christianity, when the People being generally new Converts, intending only the Salvation of their Souls, and having a superstitious Veneration for their Guides, who they believ'd wou'd lead 'em to everlasting Happiness, intirely submitted to them, never questioning that what they did was for their Good; or if you will, according to Mr. Hales, " That thro Sloth and blind Obe-Traff of " dience Men examin'd not the things they Schism. " were taught, but like Beasts of Burden " patiently couch'd down, and indifferent-

"Iy underwent what soever their Superiors laid on them. And Churches corresponding together, and endeavouring to form themselves to one Model, 'tis not strange that That by degrees prevail'd, where the

Presidents got so much Power.

55. If we may take St. Cyprian's as well as St. Jerom's Word for it, the Preservation of the Peace and Unity of the Church, and not any Divine Right, was the reason of establishing a Superiority in one of the Presbyters over the rest; otherwise there won'd, as they fay, have been as many Schismaticks as Presbyters (no great Complement to the Clergy of those days) And this Argument by degrees was carry'd to its utmost extent, for it not only destroy'd that Equality which was at first among the Presbyters, but that which afterwards was among the Bishops, by fetting Archbishops over the Bishops, and then Patriarchs over them; and at last, according to its necessary Consequence, it ended in one fingle Supremacy over the whole Church. So that Ecclesiastical Government has undergone as great an Alteration as any other, having been chang'd from a Democratical to an Aristocratical, and then to a Monarchical Form: and now many Places differ from others as much in the Modes of their Ecclesiastical as Civil Government.

56. The Emperors, after they became Christian, concerning themselves with all Ecclesiastical Matters, made a great Alteration in the Government of the Church;

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If any Form of Church-Government was immutably establish'd by Christ, it wou'd have been at its first Settlement perfeet and compleat, and all things necessary to its Well-being plac'd in proper Hands; which must exclude the Magistrate from meddling in the least with it, since it was not only fettled without him, but took root, grew up, and flourish'd for the first three hundred years in opposition to him: and confequently he cou'd not exercise the least Power in it, as he does now the greateft in all National Churches; nay he cou'd not meddle with the Maintenance of the Clergy, which must have been settl'd at first, as well as any other matter whatever; and that for the first three hundred Years was only the voluntary Contributions of the People.

Clergy justify the Magistrate in making Laws for Uniformity, for settling the Limits of Parishes and Districts, for Building, Repairing and Endowing Churches; or for appointing the least Circumstance or Ceremony relating to Publick Worship; for the Calling, Presiding over, and Dissolving of Synods, with an infinite number of other things, which the Primitive Christians ma-

nag'd without him?

Upon this Supposition, ours of all Churches, not only by reason of the great Extent of the Regal Supremacy, but on other accounts, is least to be defended:

for

for if the Government of the Church was fettled by God in a Presbyterian Parity, having a Superior Order must be unlawful; or if in an Order superior to them, then the Supreme Power of making Laws for the Church must be in the Bishops alone: nor cou'd Deans, Archdeacons, and other Presbyters exercise Episcopal Jurisdiction: nor cou'd there be the least Pretence for Exempt Places, and Laymen exercifing all Ecclefiaftical Jurisdiction in them; or for the Power of Lay-Chancellors, who in most things act independently of the Bishops; or for the Universitys excommunicating and authorizing People to preach; and feveral other things not to be parallel'd in any antient, nor I think modern Church.

58. The better part of Protestant Writers, as Bishop Stilling fleet has shown in his Irenicum, acknowledg there's no particular Form of Church Government of Divine Appointment, but that 'tis of a mutable nature, and ought to be chang'd according to Circumstances: The Consequence of which is, That no particular Set of Men can have a Divine Right to it, because that must be under some Form or other; but there being no fuch of Divine Institution, it belongs of course to the Partys concern'd to appoint what Form they think best; and consequently, they who officiate under that Form, can have no Power unless by virtue of it; nor can their Power last longer than that does, which is dissolvable by those who set it up.

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59 over that to be much hund Orde cons, risdie for a in and cou'd from fter'd I fay, thoug lish'd how havin their

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And they who do not in express Terms Chap. 4. fay, Ecclesiastical Government is of a mutable nature, do in effect own fo much, by supposing it was modell'd according to the Pattern of the Roman Civil Government.

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59. If what Mr. Dodwel fays over and over in his Paranesis ad Exteros be true, that the Discipline of the Church is not to be found in the New Testament, being much later than That; and that for the first hundred years there were but two ordinary Orders in the Church, Presbyters and Deacons, and that the Presbyters had no lurisdiction; and appeals to the Scripture for any one Act of it done by them: and in another place fays, that the Clergy then De Jure cou'd have no Power to exclude People Sacerdor from the Sacrament, that being admini-Laicor. fter'd by the Gifted Laity. If these things, I lay, be true (none of our Divines having thought fit to answer his Parenesis, tho publish'd in English as well as Latin) it shows how much in the wrong the Clergy are, in having recourse to Scripture for proof of their Power and Authority.

The ever-memorable Mr. Hales is to candid as to own, "That they do but abuse " themselves and others, who wou'd per-" fuade us that Bishops by Christ's Insti-

" tution have any Superiority over other "Men; for we have believ'd him who " told us, that in Jesus Christ there's nei-

" ther High nor Low, and that in giving "Honour every Man shou'd be ready to

" prefer another before himself; which Say-" ing

ing must certainly cut off all Claim to " Superiority by Title of Christianity, except Men can think these things were " spoken to poor and private Men. Na. " ture and Religion agree in this, that " neither of them had a hand in this He-" raldry of Secundum, Sub & Supra; all this comes from Composition and Agreement of Men among themselves. And Father Paul, tho a Papist, yet being a Person of great Ingenuity as well as Judgment, not only affirms in his Treatife of Beneficiary Matters (a Discourse fit for every one to read, who wou'd be Master of this Controversy) that in the Beginning the Government of the Holy Church had altogether a Democratical Form, but givesa large Account how by degrees it came to be alter'd.

60. If any thing was particularly determin'd in Scripture, relating to Ecclesiastical Government, there can be no reason to imagine that the Person or Persons, who shou'd have the naming of the suppos'd Jure Divino Governors of the Church, the Bishops, wou'd be omitted. To say this belongs to the Bishops themselves, condemns the constant Practice of the Church for feveral of the first Centurys, when the People chose 'em, and of all Princes and other Laymen, who have fince prefum'd to name them; and of all those Presbyters who in their feveral Chapters have chosen their Bishops: and if those Elections were void, as not made by a competent Power, all Confecrations built on them must be fo

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longs either to People, Prince or Presbyters, by a Divine Authority, the same Absurdity will follow: so that there's a necessity of owning that the Scripture has determin'd nothing about it; and consequently, that of course it belongs to the
Partys concern'd, as every thing must,
which is not by some positive Text taken
from them.

of. If their chusing a Person to execute an Ecclesiastical Office, be not sufficient to give him a sull Right to it; it must be either because God by some positive Law has declar'd none to be capable of such an Office, who has not some supernatural Powers or Qualifications bestow'd on him by certain Ecclesiasticks; or else there must be some Text produc'd, which in part deprives the People of the Power of making their Ministers, and divides it between them and the Clergy, where one is to chuse, and t'other to approve. But,

As to the First, tho pretending to bestow such Qualifications now, be as gross a
Cheat as Transubstantiation it self, since
there's no more Change wrought in the
Man in the one case, than in the Bread in
the other; yet the making and unmaking
Ecclesiastical Officers wou'd still be in the
People, without any other Obligation upon
'em than to pitch on a Person who had these
supernatural Qualifications bestow'd on him.
And,

As no Text can be shown for the Second, so it supposes the suspending or de-

depriving of a Clergyman cannot be done without the joint Concurrence of the Laity and Clergy; because the Power of Unmak. ing must be divided between them as well as the Power of Making. But if there's no ground for neither of these Pretences, the People's chusing a Person to execute an Ec. clesiastical Office is sufficient to give him a

Right thereunto.

62. That great Reformer and glorious Martyr, Archbishop Cranmer (at a Confult of the most eminent Divines of the Nation in 1540. where to avoid the Inconveniences of verbal Disputes, they gave their Opinions in writing) affirms, "That "the Ceremonys and Solemnitys us'd in admitting Bishops and Priests, are not " of necessity, but only for good Order " and feemly Fashion; and that there's " no more Promise of God that Grace is a given in committing of the Ecclesiastical " than Civil Office — He that's appointed to be a Bishop or Priest (between whom, he fays, at first there was no diftinction) a needs no Confectation by the " Scripture; for Election or Appointing " thereunto is sufficient. What the proof the Se-found Mr. Dodwell fays, agrees very well parat. of with this; "That as only the Society it

Churches, " felf can make a valid Conveyance of " its Right, fo 'tis not conceivable how 522, 523. " the Society can do it but by its own Act: and whenfoever a Person is invested with Supreme Power, it mult be by them, unless by his Predecessor, 66 which no Society can depend on for a

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" constant Rule of Succession. I am apt Chap. 43 " to think this must have been the way " observ'd at first in making Bishops: " This feems best to agree with the Abso-" luteness of particular Churches, before " they had by Compact united themselves " under Metropolitans and Exarchs into " Provincial and Diocefan Churches. " this feem'd to be fitted to the frequent " Persecutions of those earlier Ages, when " every Church was able to fecure its own "Succession, without depending on the " Meeting of the Bishops of the whole " Province; and the Alteration of this, in " giving the Bishops of the Province an " Interest in the Choice of every particu-" lar Collegue, feems not to have been for " want of Power in the particular Chur-" ches to do it, &c. This is a sufficient Acknowledgment that Bishops may be made without the Confecration or Concurrence of any Bishop; since every particular Church had at first a Right of making its own Bishop, or, as he terms it, of securing its own Succession; and that whatever Right the Bishops of the Province came to have afterwards, was deriv'd from the Consent of particular Congregations or Churches; and that it was to their Compacts that Diocesan Episcopacy owed its Being.

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CHAP

## CHAP. V.

The Clergy's endeavouring at an Inde. pendent Power, not only prevents the further spreading of the Gospel, but is the Cause of its having already lost so much Ground.

NOTHING can give Unbelieving
Princes a greater Prejudice against the Christian Religion, than that if it prevails, they must become subject either to Strangers or to their own Subjects, not only in all things they please to call Ecclesiastical, Spiritual or Sacred, but indirectly, & in ordine ad Spiritualia, in all matters what foever. Princes are naturally very jealous of new Doctrines, lest they create Disturbances, or any ways diminish their Prerogative; and consequently must needs be enrag'd, when they find their Power fo much straitned and limited by a new Religion: and presently conclude those Impo-Itors who preach it, fince they defign to get for themselves no less than an Independent Power over them.

2. 'Tis no wonder therefore that feveral Nations who at first tolerated Christianity, did afterward, when they found what the Clergy

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was t made absolu Clergy aim'd at, extirpate it with Fire and Chap. 5. Sword; tho at the same time they allow'd of other Religions every whit as different from theirs: Nor cou'd the Romish Priests, the only Persons who make it their business to convert Insidels, expect any where better Treatment, did they not at first dissemble (at which they are very dextrous) this part of their Doctrines.

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3. Had those who first propagated the Christian Religion, made such a selfish Scheme of it, as that it exalted 'em from the meanest Condition, to be no less than Ecclesiastical Monarchs; and that it gave them, and whomfoever they laid hands on, an Independent Power over the whole World in all things they pleas'd to declare of an Ecclesiastical nature; and that they had a Power to punish whom they thought fit, not only in this Life, by obliging People to avoid all Converse with 'em (a thing insupportable to human Nature) but in the next with eternal Torments, nothing less than that being the Effects of their Excommunication: Had they, I fay, pretended to fuch Powers, instead of gaining Profelytes, they wou'd have been look'd on as impudent Cheats and Impostors. But where do we find, they ever told the Emperors, that, tho it were true, till the Times of Christianity there were not two Independent Powers in the fame Society, yet that God, the Immutable God, was then pleas'd to change his Mind, and made the Emperors, as well as the People, absolute Slaves to those who before were N 3

their own Subjects, in all things which they, the fole Judges, shou'd determine to be of an Ecclesiastical nature; who having their Power only from God, without the Intervention of the People or of their Representatives, cou'd be accountable for the Abuse of it to God alone; and that there. fore it was not lawful for the Roman Emperor, tho he shou'd become a Christian. and fo employ his Power aright, to retain the Title, much less the Office of Pontifex Maximus, but must resign that to the Bishop of Rome, or some other Priest? Had, I fay, this Doctrine of Imperium in Imperio been the Product of Christianity, the Emperors cou'd not have fail'd to use it as an Argument to justify their Usage of the Christians, who were for a double-headed Sovereignty, unknown before in the World, and inconfiftent with the Power, which they and the Commonwealth ever fince its Foundation had enjoy'd. And the Heathen Authors wou'd have eternally infulted the Christians on this Point; who, had the thing been true, cou'd not be fo wanting to themselves, as to neglect offering at fomething in their frequent Apologys for their Justification. But on the contrary, Tertullian in his Apology declares, agreeable to the sense of Mankind, that tis the Nature of the Supreme to admit of no Equal.

4. Besides, with what face, upon this Supposition, cou'd the Christians have afferted the Disinterestedness of those who first preach'd the Gospel, as a grand Argu-

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ment for the Truth of it? or how cou'd Chap. 5. they have added, That those who succeeded 'em, as having no Temporal Advantage to carry on by it, ought to be look'd on as competent Witnesses, when they suppos'd it gave 'em such Powers, Jurisdictions, Honours, Privileges, Preeminences? &c.

To instance only in one Particular of their Claims, and that a small one in comparison of the rest, and which I have not yet mention'd, viz. their having a Right to the Tenth Part not only of Mens Lands, but what far exceeds it, of the Product of their Labour and Industry: which, considering what the neat Produce in every Nation amounts to, must have given 'em immense Riches, and confequently wou'd not only have spoil'd their Plea of Disinterestedness, but made both Emperors and People fee, that Christ's Kingdom, notwithltanding his Disciples pretended the contrary, was of this World; and that he made a great Alteration in Mens Civil Propertys, not only by depriving 'em of the Right they had by the Law of Nature, of judging what was most convenient for the Support of their Ecclesiasticks, but of the Tenth of all their Estates; nay, which is more, what the Clergy wou'd please to call so, fince these being of an Ecclesiastical nature, and Spiritual things, must belong to their Cognizance.

5. The greatest Glory Mortals are capable of, is to be thought the peculiar Favorites of Heaven, and to hold Communica-

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tion

tion with God, and to be authoriz'd by him to promulgate his Will to the whole World; for then they are to be hearken'd to by all Mankind with the fame Submission and Deference as God himself is: fince 'tis He who speaks in them, and what they declare is no less than the Dictates of his Infallible Spirit. Therefore 'tis no wonder that in all Ages some have set up for Prophets, and pretended to Divine Dreams, Visions, and Revelations. But if the Revelation be fuch that it gives the Revealers Power and Jurisdiction, independent of any but God himself, in all things they are pleas'd to term Spiritual; how can it be faid that these Revealers are disinterested, or that they, who wou'd be thought to receive this Power from them, are competent Witnesses? when no Court of Judicature allows those who have such Interest, in any Case to give their Testimony. And certainly the Evidence ought to be as difinterested in a Cause of this consequence, as in any of less moment.

6. Mens suffering for such Opinions is not sufficient to support the Weight of dem. For do we not daily see People in Duels run the hazard of Death, nay of Damnation too, for a mistaken Point of Honour, or a mere Punctilio? And Women in the Indies, notwithstanding the Discouragement they meet with from the Government, voluntarily leap into those Flames which consume their dead Husbands Bodys. And have not even Atheists, such as Vaninus and Effendi, dy'd Martyrs for their

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their Opinions; or, more properly speaking, Chap. 5. rather than be thought capable of fo much Weakness, as for the fake of their Lives to disown what they made the World believe they thought a Truth? Therefore we may conclude, that 'tis not impossible but some Men, tho less ambitious than Empedocles (who threw himself, as 'tis faid, into a burning Mountain, to be esteem'd a God after his Death) will venture any thing to be reverenc'd as Gods while alive, especially when so much Power is join'd with the Honour: And when the dazling Profpect has once engag'd Men in fuch an Affair as this, they will die a thousand times, rather than own themselves Cheats and Impostors.

7. What Archbishop Tillotfox says of Transubstantiation, That 'tis a Milstone hung about the Neck of Popery, which will fink it at last, I will not apply to this Independent Power with relation to Chriftianity, and fay it is a Burden even too great for That to support: But this I may affirm, that the Priests, by hanging about the Neck of it fuch a heavy and monstrous Weight, do the most that in them lies to

fink it. For,

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It not only prejudices all Infidels against Christianity, but is the chief reason that no small Number have left it, contenting themselves with Natural Religion, as the Ingenious Author of the Growth of Deism justly

observes.

8. And the Bishop of Sarum says, Pref. to his That he having had much free Conversa- Care. **Paftoral** cc tion

tion with many who have been fatally corrupted that way (to a Disbelief of " all reveal'd Religion) they have very often own'd to him, That nothing promoted this so much in them, as the very bad Opinion which they took up of all cc Clergymen on all fides; who tho for carrying on of their own Authority or Fortunes, seem'd to be very positive in affirming the Truth of their Doctrines. " yet in their Hearts they did not believe "em, fince they liv'd fo little futably to "em, and were fo much fet on raising themselves by 'em. And that this is the great stumbling Block to Unbelievers, the most learned and most discerning Mr. Le Clerc has fully and to the life shown in his Treatise of the Causes of Infidelity. tis remarkable, that the higher the Priests of Rome (to fay nothing of those of other Sects) carry those Points, the less they show of Religion in their Lives and Conversation, and gratify themselves not only in the Lust of Power, and Pride of Dominion, but in all other Passions: and their whole Lives feem to give one continu'd Lie to the Doctrine they teach; which is enough, if Men are not well fettl'd in their Principles, to make millions of Infidels, unless they reason like the converted Jew, that the Christian Religion must be the Favourite of Heaven, fince the scandalous Lives of its chief Professors have not confounded it long fince.

9. And I think I may add, that this Independent Power was the chief Occasion,

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that Christianity lost so many fair Provin-Chap. 5. ces it once posses'd: For nothing can be plainer than that all the numberless Diforders, Tumults, Commotions, Wars. Persecutions, Massacres, &c. which have happen'd to Christians on the pretence of Religion, are wholly owing to the Clergy's requiring a blind Submission to their Decrees in order to advance this Power. And 'tis as plain, that thefe fo weaken'd the Roman Empire, by ruining and destroying great Numbers, and by discouraging and disheartning of more (none being fure that it might not be his turn to be persecuted, if the Emperor happen'd to be influenc'd by Clergymen of a different Persuasion) that it became an eafy Prey to the barbarous Nations; and made the Conquer'd fubmit to the Religion of the Conquerors, where they cou'd not fee more Abfurditys than the Clergy for the fake of their Interest had brought into Christianity. And the Ambition of the Bishops in continually fighting against one another for Dominion, with their pretended Spiritual Weapons of Anathemas and Excommunications, did not a little contribute to it; fince that gave infinite Scandal, and fo distracted Christendom, that too many were ready for any Change. Without this, fo fensless a Religion as that of the Alcoran cou'd never have taken fuch deep Root, or spread it self so far and wide in fo short a time.

10. 'Tis very remarkable, and helps to confirm this Assertion, what Dr. Geddes observes in his History of the Expulsion of the

the Moriscoes out of Spain, That most of the Mahometans, fo very numerous there. were the Descendents of apostatiz'd Christians; and that in the City of Granada and the Kingdom of Arragon only, of 200000 Mahometans (as John King of Arragon affirms in a Letter to the Council of Vien in 1311.) there were not above five hundred not thus descended. And yet this mighty Change, the Christians enjoying Liberty of Conscience, was not owing to Compulfion. But when Spain was conquer'd by the Christians, notwithstanding they spar'd neitheir fair nor foul means, They cou'd not, as he observes, make one real Convert among the Moors. Such an Aversion had the Corruptions introduc'd by the Clergy caus'd in those Infidels, the descended from Christian Ancestors, against the Christian Religion.

11. As this Independent Power occasion'd Mahometism in the East, so it produc'd Popery in the West, which tho it still retains the name of Christianity, is yet a greater Corruption of it; which at the time of the Reformation had been every where intirely extirpated, if too many of the Protestant Clergy (who at first disown'd any Independent Power, and thereby very much contributed to the Encouragement they receiv'd from Princes as well as People) had not put a stop to it by claiming (the Presbyterians leading the Van) such a Power themselves. This made Princes begin to think it not only more honourable, but less hazardous (as procul a Jove, procul a Ful-

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then not a little humbl'd, and living at fuch a distance as Rome, than to let their own Subjects become their Ecclesiastical Sovereigns; who, as being nearer at hand, might not only be more troublesom, but by degrees, having better Opportunitys, carry their Power further than the Popes themselves did; since they cou'd scarce claim any, tho ever so extravagant, which this Doctrine wou'd not justify.

12. In a word, if Love, Charity, Meekness, Benevolence, Moderation, Condescension, and such like Virtues, be essential to a Christian Church, I shou'd be glad to see a Church even among the Reform'd, where these are not in a great measure destroy'd by the Hatred and Animosity the Clergy have sown, and the Feuds, Quarrels and Persecutions they have occasion'd about their Independent Ecclesiastical Power. But more

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## CHAP. VI.

That the Clergy's claiming an Independent Power is of all Things the most destructive to the Interest of Religion, and is the Cause of those Corruptions under which Christianity labours.

1. 'I Is absolutely necessary, for the prefervation of Religion in its Purity and Simplicity, that all the Power Man is capable of, shou'd belong to the Laity, because they can have no Motive, no Temptation to abuse it, by corrupting Religion, to advance their Temporal Interest: since every Deviation from it (That being design'd to secure and promote the Happiness of Human Societys) must be to their detriment; and consequently their Temporal Interest obliges 'em to take care, that Religion be preserv'd in its native Purity and Simplicity.

2. But 'tis the Clergy's Interest on the contrary to have it corrupted; because they, as such, have no other way to gain a Power of Lording it over their Brethren. And there's no Notion so absurd but what's their Interest to advance, tho it seems to have no direct tendency that way; since,

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when once believ'd, it will ferve to draw Chap. 6. on others which have. Let Reason be baffled in one point, and you can never plead her Sovereignty in another: Uno absurdo dato, mille sequuntur. And a Rational Religion will not make Men depend much on the Authority of the Priests; because themselves can judg of that by its own Evidence. But the more Unaccountable, Uncertain, Obscure, Perplex'd, and Unintelligible Religion is, the more 'tis above their Understanding and Capacity, and the more they must pay a blind Deference and Submission to the Dictates of the Priests. And therefore 'tis no wonder, if Religion has been more or less confounded, as they have been more or less trusted with Power: And 'tis naturally impossible it shou'd be otherwise; fince to be fure, some will be always attempting, tho ever fo much to the prejudice of Religion, to introduce such Opinions as are for their Interest, and serve to render their Persons sacred, and raise their Characters; which Opinions need not very strong Arguments to go down with the Generality of 'em; and those who oppos'd 'em (as some at first might) wou'd not do it very heartily, and tho they did, must quickly be overpower'd: and consequently fuch Opinions must by degrees become current among the Clergy; which then they will not scruple to impose on the People by their own Authority, especially when afsembl'd in a Synod; for then 'tis only Excommunicating and Anathematizing all fuch as shall presume to speak against their

Determinations, and (if they are so favourable to let the Persons escape) judicially condemning their Adversarys Writings to the Flames, as the most expeditious way of

confuting 'em.

what they ought to do, if they have a Right to oblige People to submit to their Determinations in all disputable Points, which in effect is in all: for if the Laity swallow what they impose, they have their End; but if they question and dispute it, then that very thing gives 'em a Right to decide it; since it belongs to Them, in all disputable Points, to judg for the People.

And this all Councils and Synods in fact do, when they determine Controversy, and oblige People to submit to whatever Side they declare for; so that by this means Interest becomes the Father of Religion, and Ignorance (the Consequence of an implicit Submission) the Mother of Devotion.

But,

4. What a Folly and Madness is it, to take the Clergy's word in Things relating to their own Power and Jurisdiction; and suffer 'em to judg in their own Cause, and decide where their own Interest is concern'd, as they must if they are Judges in Matters of Religion? Then to be sure, their own Independent Power shall be a fundamental Article.

There never was a Council, fince the times of the Apostolick Purity, that has not determin'd something or other in pre-

judice rupte Synoo abfur wou'd not I ficient all the ble, the affemble tenance the Prevert imposes

Power. to the was n or oth punish nishmer that Pr their L Heretic terdicte em: In dering I tous as vation ( cold Ch pocrite a

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6. If confider, kind, in

judice of the true Religion, which was cor-Chap. 6. rupted proportionably to the frequency of Synods; where no Doctrine, tho ever so absurd, and which Men singly perhaps wou'd have been asham'd to maintain, was not long boggl'd at, provided it was sufficiently adapted to their Interest; witness all the Popish Tenets, so very unaccountable, that the Clergy, except they had been assembl'd in Council, where Numbers countenance one another, and where they have the Pretence of the Spirit to sanctify whatever they do, durst not have attempted to

impose them on the People.

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5. 'Tis no wonder that the Clergy magnify Synods at fo great a rate, fince there were no Doctrines which advanc'd the Power Ecclesiastical, or created a Reverence to the Clergy, the Contradiction whereof was not made Herefy by some Council or other, and the Emperors oblig'd to punish the Hereticks with Death or Banishment. And at last it came to that pass, that Princes and States, unless they purg'd their Dominions of all the Clergy call'd Hereticks, were excommunicated and interdicted, and their Subjects let loose upon em: Infomuch that to a ferious and confidering Person there was nothing so dangerous as to enquire concerning his own Salvation of the Holy Scripture; the careless cold Christian was safe, and the skilful Hypocrite a Saint.

6. If any think this partial, let'em only consider, That the greatest part of Mankind, in their several Callings and Profes-

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fions,

fions, are too apt to prefer their private Interest before any Motive whatsoever, especially when they act in Bodys: for then Reputation and Honour, Shame and Difgrace, which frequently influence fingle Persons, quite lose their Force; and no Good can be expected from 'em, where the publick Interest and their own are not the fame. And confequently, what can be hop'd from Assemblys of Priests, whose private Interest, as it is dimetrically opposite to that of the People, so their Sy. nods have been, generally speaking, compos'd of the most Ambitious, the most Crafty, and most Designing, better vers'd in the Arts of Flattering and Fawning on great Men, than in the Knowledg of Religion ?

7. By the account the Orthodox give of the many Arian Councils, one wou'd think they were speaking of Devils and not of Men; and by what remains of the Arian Writers, 'tis plain they are not behind with

the others.

But there's no need of having recourse to them; for the most partial Historians of their own side give such a Relation of their Conduct (too notorious it seems to be conceal'd, and too foul to be disguis'd) as makes 'em appear not much better.

8. That 'tis possible for Councils to ad after this manner, we have the Confession of an English Synod, who acknowledg, as

Herbert's of an English Synod, who acknowledg, as Hist. of H. taught by Experience, "That there is not, 8. I. 417." nor can be any thing in the World more peffilent or pernicious to the Common-

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" wealth of Christendom, or whereby the Chap. 6; " Truth of God's Word hath in times " past, or hereafter may be sooner de-" fac'd and subverted, or whereof may " ensue more Contention or Discord, or " other Devilish Effects, than when Ge-" neral Councils have, or shall hereafter " be affembled, not Christianly nor Cha-" ritably, but for and upon private Malice " and Ambition, or other worldly or car-" nal Confiderations.

And this Opinion they confirm by the Authority of St. Gregory Nazianzen, who in his Letter to Procopius tells him, Tom. 1. "That he fled all Assemblys of Bishops, Ep. 426

" because he never saw a good and happy " End of any Council, but that they did

" rather increase than lessen the Evil; that " the Love of Contention and Ambition

" always overcomes their Reason. Nazianzen's Judgment is the more to be regarded, because 'twas the Result of frequent Trial and long Experience; for he had been at feveral Councils, particularly at the General and Creed-making one of Constan-

And that this was his fixt Opinion, is

plain from his fo very frequently repeating it, as he does in feveral of his Letters, Letter 714 and in his Poetick Pieces, where he again 72, 74.

declares his Resolution " of never going to Pag. 80. " any Council, because nothing is to be " heard there but Geese and Cranes, who

"fight without understanding one ano-

" ther. There one may fee Divisions, "Quarrels, and shameful Things, which " were

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9. If there ever was a Council which

acted upon other Principles, there is little doubt it was the First and Occumenical one of Nice: " Which yet, as Mr. Marvel justly observes, " was a pitiful " human Bufiness, attended with all the " ill Circumstances of other worldly Affairs, conducted by a Spirit of Ambition and Contention; the first, and & the greatest Occumenical Blow, that by " Christians was given to Christians. It

was, fays he, their Imposition of a new Article or Creed upon the Christian

World, not being contain'd in express Words of Scripture, to be believed

with Divine Faith, under Spiritual and

c Civil Penaltys, contrary to the Privi u leges of Religion; and their making

" Precedent, follow'd and improvid by all

fucceeding Ages, for most cruel Persentions, which only dou'd animate me

" In digging thus for a new Dedudion,

they undermin'd the Fabrick of Christi anity: To frame a particular Dodring

they departed from the general Rule of

their Religion, and violated our Saviour's

" first Institution of a Church, not subject

to any Additions in matters of Fain or nor liable to Compulsion of sidesonly

10. To which may be added, That the Doctrine of those Fathers was not, there's only one Divine Essence into ber, but in Kind; as is most evident from Petavius, Curcelleus, Cudworth, Le Clat

Historical Essay of Councils,

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Dr. Bull, and several others; and in a Chap. 6. word, the same which the Heads of the University of Oxford not long since condemn'd as False, Impious and Heretical. The this must be said for that Synod, that in all probability they had not declar'd themselves of this Opinion, had they not been closeted by the Emperor; who, as Eufebins fays, confer'd with them apart, courte-Lib. 3, cap ously and mildly telling em what was his own Constant. Opinion of the Matter, after he had patiently listen'd to every one, and took every one's Opinion without the Acrimony with which it was deliver'd; helping each Party where they disagreed, and reconciling em by degrees, when they were in the fiercest Contention. And in all likelihood, the great Pains he took both in publick and private to bring em to his Sentiments (not to mention the noble Entertainment he gave em all the while) had no small Influence upon 'em. And this ought the rather to be believ'd, because when left to themselves, they were of a different Opinion; as at the Synod of Bythinia, held some time before the Council of Nice, and at Antioch in the year 329. and at Tyre 334. where no small number of Bishops from Egypt, Lybia, Asia and Europe, were assembl'd. And with these agreed the Bishops who met at Jerusalem, and afterward at Constantinople, where they were preparing a Council to examine afresh the Matter agitated at Nice; and had appointed a Day to discourse of it, and to conduct Ariss into the Church, having before depos'd Athanasius, and 0 3 caus'd

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caus'd the Emperor to banish him to

If the Nicene Fathers did not subscribe the Creed out of Complement to the Emperor, but because they understood what they did; what made them fall so foul upon one another about the meaning of it, particularly of the word Consubstantial? Whose Socrates, Quarrels, the Historian says, did not ill respectively. In c. 23. semble a Combat in the dark, where they be spatter'd one another with Calumnys, where

ther they had cause or not.

11. But were this fo or no, 'tis certain they gave up their Creed not long after; and at the Council of Ariminum (double in number to that of Nice) they all fign'd the Arian Confession; so much did they value their Bishopricks above their Faith: tho at Nice there were seventeen who took a contrary Method, and chose rather to part with their Preferments than Consciences. Which, confidering their Conduct in those days, seems to be almost Incredible: for tho they were most obstinate as to Power, they were most flexible as to Faith, and in their Councils complemented the Emperors with what soever Creeds they had a mind to, and never scrupl'd to recant what they had before enacted, or to re-enact what before they had recanted. Nay, fo very variable were they, that St. Hilary Bishop of Poittiers says (as Mr. Marvel observes) " That since the Nicene " Synod we do nothing but write Creeds; that while we fight about Words, while we raise Questions about Noveltys, while

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"we quarrel about things doubtful, and Chap. 6.
"about Authors, while we contend in Partys, there's almost none that's Christ's.
"We decree every year of the Lord a new
"Creed concerning God; nay, every
"Change of the Moon our Faith is alter'd. We repent of our Decrees, we
defend those who have repented of them;
"we anathematize those we defended: or
while we condemn other Mens Opinions
"in our own, or our own in those of other
"Men, and bite at one another, we are all

" of us torn to pieces.

12. Mr. Le Clerc, than whom there never was a more impartial or abler Judg,

gives us a short yet lively picture of these times: "Weak Princes, as far from being Ars Critic." "Good as Wise, assembl'd a pack of pal-cap. 5.

"Good as Wife, assembl'd a pack of pal-cap. 3.
"try Greeks, who had spent their Lives
"in the Art of Cavilling about Words,
"without the least knowledg in Things;
"so very fond of wrangling, that they
"were eternally in Feuds among themselves. To these were added some few
from the West, more stupid and ignorant
indeed, but not a whit more honest;
"who after much scandalous Quarrelling,
did at last by their own Authority esta-

" blish certain unintelligible Propositions,
in such Terms as were for the most
part very improper, which the Vulgar

"implicitly reverenc'd as most Heavenly "Truths. This, as severe as it seems, is softer than what the great Episcopius

fays of those Councils, that they were ked on by Fury, Faction and Madness. And What

Rule of Faith, p. 4. 5. 4.

what Dr. Tillotson fays of that Council which the Papists call the seventh General One, That if a General Council of Atheists had met together, with a Design to abuse Religion, by talking ridiculously concerning it, they cou'd not have done it more effectually, may be apply'd not to a few other Councils even long before that time.

13. I have been the longer on this point, because some Men think they cannot pay too great a difference to the Authority of the Holy Synods of those times; the in truth there's scarce any thing (as the judicious Dr. Wake observes) in Antiquity,

Authority of Christ. Princes, P. 307.

" which either more expos'd our Christian " Profession heretofore, or may more de-" ferve our ferious Consideration at this day, than the Violence, the Passion, the

" Malice, the Falfeness, and the Oppres-" fion, which reign'd in most of those Sy-

" nods held by Constantine first, and after

him by the following Emperors, upon the occasion of the Arian Controverly.

"Bitter are the Complaints which we are

" told that great Emperor made of them. The Barbarians, fays he in a Letter to

Sozomen, " one of them, for fear of us, worthip 1. 2. c. 28. 4 God; but we mind what only tends to " Hatred, to Diffension, in one word, to

" the Destruction of Mankind. And if those Accusations and Libels, which the Bishops at the Council of Nice gave in of one another to the Emperor, were now extant, in all probability we should have fuch Rolls of Scandal, that none would have much reason to boast of the first Oc-

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cumenical Council, where with fuch Heat, Chap. 6. Passion and Fury, the Bishops fell foul on one another; infomuch that had not the Emperor by a trick burnt their Church-Memorials, probably they must have broke And after that Council up in Confusion. was over, the Bishops made so great a buftle and difturbance, and were fo unruly, that the good Emperor was forc'd to tell Euseb. de 'em, "That if they wou'd not be more vita Con-" quiet and peaceable for the future, he ftant. p. " cou'd no longer continue his Expedition 770. " against the Infidels, but must (a much " more difficult Task) return to keep them And indeed the Confusion " in Order. and Diforder was fo great amongst 'em, efpecially in their Synods, that it sometimes came to Blows; as for instance, Dioscarus Bishop of Alexandria, cuff'd and kick'd Flavianus Patriarch of Constantinople (at the fecond Synod of Ephesus) with that Fury, that within three days after he dy'd (a).

"fifth Centurys, as the Bishop of (b) Sarum acknowledges, "give us dismal Representations of the Corruptions of their times; and the scandalous Inconstancy of the Councils of those Ages is too evident a

(b) Expesition of the 28th Article, page 335.

" Proof

<sup>(</sup>a) Flavianum ad Apostolicam sedem provocantem Dioscorus sastus ex Episcopo carnifex, tot pugnis calcibusque contundit, ut post triduum in exilio gravissimo plagarum dolore conflictatus obierit. L' Abb. Concil. T. 4. Col. 5.

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Proof of what we find faid by the good
Men of those days. But things fell lower
and lower in the succeeding Ages: it was
an amazing thing, in the very Office of
consecrating Bishops, Examinations are
order'd concerning those Crimes, the very
mention of which gives Horror; De coitu

cum Masculo, & cum Quadrupedibus. 15. If the early Councils were none of the best, those which succeeded 'em became worse, and never left undermining the Christian Religion, till by degrees they destroy'd the Essence of it, and in its place introduc'd Popery; which cannot be deny'd to be all Priestcraft, from the Beginning to the End: or (to make use of Andrew Marvel's words) " Popery " is the most insolent Attempt upon the " Credulity of Mankind; an Abstract of whatfoever is most ridiculous and im-" pious in other Religions, incorporated with peculiar Absurditys of its own; and all this deliberately contriv'd, knowc ingly carry'd on by bold Imposition of er Priests, and under the name of Christiacc nity.

Protestants, and the Clergy trusted with as much Power as among the Papists, we should in all probability have very little to object to them. And 'tis strange that Protestants, when they so evidently saw that the Christian Religion was abominably depray'd by self-interested Persons assembl'd in Synods, did not forbid all such Meetings; especially since the chief pre-

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tence for convening 'em seems to be Popish, Chap. 6. viz. to judg of religious Matters, not every one for himself, but (as the Truth were to be found out by a Poll) the Majority for the whole Assembly, nay for the whole Nation: and their Business is not to convince Mens Judgmens, by offering Reasons for or against Opinions (for that they might better do by Writing, without being affembl'd) but Authoritatively and Judicially to approve or condemn them, and to excommunicate those who will not submit to their Determinations.

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17. Tho fuch Assemblys were not abolish'd in England upon the Reformation, and perhaps the only Reason was the Clergy's taxing themselves in Convocation; yet their Power was fo curtail'd by Act of 25 H. 8. Parliament, that they could not attempt any thing without the King's Licence first obtain'd: And whether some Attempts of late, without such a Licence, have not involv'd certain Persons in a Premunire, is not my business to inquire. And yet as much as their Power is cramp'd, no small number of the most eminent of 'em very ingenuously confess, That such Assemblys are not much for the Advantage of Religion. That the late excellent Archbishop was of this Opinion, the Author of the Letter to the Convocation-man will bear me Pag. 8. witness; and the present Bishops are ceniur'd by the High Fliers as concurring in the same Sentiments. And Dr. Wake (who Dedicat. to by his exemplary Life shows his Zeal for his Appeal, Religion, and for the Church by his excel- &c.

P. 53.

lent Defence of it against Popery in the most dangerous Times) expresly declares, That nothing at this day preserves us " from Ruin and Desolation, but that we (the Clergy) have not Power of our felves to do the Church a Mischief; and the er Prince who fees too much of our Temec per, is too Gracious to us, and has too a great a Concern for the Church's Good, to fuffer us to do it. And this is no Eecl. Polit, more than what Bishop Parker affirms of former Councils, in faying, " Had it not

been for Christian Princes, Christianity in all human probability had been de-" stroy'd by its own Tumults and Sedi-

a tions.

18. Had a Prince a mind to ruin a Church unperceiv'd, nay to be thank'd into the bargain, 'tis only allowing a Convocation liberty to fit as long as they please, and to make what Articles they think fit: For tho, like my Lord Tumont's Cocks, they might at first seem all of a side, yet no fooner can they be put together, than they will four at one another; and, being infinitely fond of their own Conceits, frame them into Articles, and fo divide and subdivide a Church till it crumbles almost into nothing. This, with their extraordinary Conduct, which the different Partys will not fail to expose to the World, will in all probability compleat its And whether some Mens Zeal in the late Reign for the Convocation to ft and do Business, did proceed from any such Motive, I shall not determine; tho they were

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were the most disassected to the Constitu-Chap. 6. tion, who made the greatest noise about it. What Good can be expected from the Meeting of Men, "when their Passions of Christ." are, as an Author just now cited says, Princes, let loose, and their Minds disorder'd; p. 317. "when their Interest and Designs, their Friends and their Partys, nay their very Judgments and Principles lead 'em dissert ways, and they agree in nothing so much as being very peevish and very angry with one another; when their very Reason is depray'd, and they judg not with respect to Persons; and every one opposes what another of a different Per-

" fuafion moves or approves of?

19. As to the Pretence of Synods being influenc'd by the Holy Spirit, I need only fay, That their Conduct is a sufficient Demonstration to the contrary, fince those benign Virtues which are the Product of that Spirit, are likelier to be found any where elfe than in fuch Assemblys; and 'twou'd be strange if Divinity shou'd chuse to dwell where Humanity was feldom to be Can the Holy Spirit be suppos'd to influence Councils, which contradict one another fo much, that there have been few or no Questions of any moment (bating what they fay of their own Power) agitated in them, which have not receiv'd opposite Determinations? This is so notorious, that none who is the least acquainted with Church-History, but muk 22 3.7 with honest Chilling worth say, " I see plainof the Re- " Iv, and with my own Eyes, that there " are Popes against Popes, Councils against " Councils, fome Fathers against others, ch.6.n.56. " the same Fathers against themselves, a " Confent of the Fathers of one Age a-" gainst the Consent of the Fathers of another Age, the Church of one Age against the Church of another Age. Is it not the way to have a Curfed Church, if the Clergy, for instance, in one Council shall curse and anathematize all who worship Images, and quickly after in another curse all who will not worship 'em? How did the Clergy curse themselves at the Council of Calcedon for what they did at the Council of Ephesus? And after that, how frequently did they declare for and against the Council of Calcedon, and seldom without bitterly curfing themselves? So that the Religion of the Clergy of that Age feems mostly to have consisted in Cursing: and 'tis well if it had been of that Age only, fince there's scarce a Man in being, who is not under the Anathema of some Canon or other.

dwell with those, who, as in the Case of Eutyches and Nestorius, for different Terms only, set the Christian World in slames, and made such a Division as remains to this very day? Tho 'tis much the last shou'd be treated as a Heretick, after his Orthodox Zeal had made him say to Theodos.

Socrat.lib. dosius the Younger, Give me, O Empe7. c. 29. ror, the Earth weeded from Hereticks, and I
in my turn will give you Heaven; destroy
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Persians with you. Have not Councils been either Imperial Engines or Papal Machines? And had they not all along as great a Deference for those who cou'd reward 'em best, as the Synod Bishop Taylor men-Liberty of tions had for their Presidents, who hav-Prophesing at the upper end pronounc'd Damnamus, ing, §.6. they at the lower end waking at the Noise, heard the latter part of the Word, and concur'd as far as mnamus went? which, says he, was as good as Damnamus: for if they had been awake at pronouncing the whole Word, they wou'd have given Sentence accordingly.

cordingly.

21. What can we think of the Complaifance of a Synod at Alexandria to St. Theophilus their Patriarch, who not only affifted the Antrhopomorphite Monks in Socrat. lib. murdering all their Brethren who deny'd God 6. c. 7, 8. had a Body and Human Shape, but got this Council to condemn Origen, who held the contrary Opinion, 200 years after his death? and all this contrary to his own Sentiments, only to gratify his Malice on some innocent Monks who never did him the least Injury. So that Men are not always

condemn'd for the sake of Opinions, but Opinions sometimes for the sake of Men, and possibly much oftner than is imagin'd: and there's no small Party now who have conceiv'd such an Antipathy to a certain Bishop, that in all probability they wou'd not scruple to condemn him, tho he had made the Articles, instead of writing an

Exposition upon them.

22. If

22. If Councils had been govern'd by the Holy Spirit, the more they were left to themselves, the less Disorder and Confo. fion wou'd happen amongst 'em: but the Hiffory of Sieur Puffendorf among others fays, " That the Pope. " the Direction and Presidentship of Eoch. dom. " " fiastical Assemblys must belong to the " Magistrate, that extravagant Heats and immoderate Passions may be abated; and Matters not stretch'd too far, out of " a Fondness of Contradiction; nor any " one by a malicious Interpretation of his "Words or Opinions fall into Slanders or "Censures: and that the first Christian " Emperors, in not exercifing this their "Right, occasion'd great Confusion in " fome Councils. But the eternal Wrangling of the Bishops was sufficient to fright more patient Persons than the Emperors or their Deputys from attending on that Affair; and therefore 'twas not Socrat. lib. strange that Leonas, who represented the Emperor Constans, bid the Bishops, upon 2. C. 48. their desiring him to return to the Assem-

be faid, wou'd be to write a History of Councils, and transcribe their Canons; one Adrian's of which is, That no Man ought to receive old Canons the Testimony of a Layman against a Clergipublish'd by man. I cou'd not say less, since even a Canessus, mong those who in words deny the Infallibility of Councils, there are too many who in fact own it, by endeavouring to impose on us things which have no Foundation

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tion either in Scripture or Reason, nay are Chap. 6. sometimes contrary to both, on their bare Authority; which serv'd formerly as an Answer to all Objections. It was this made Socrates say, That the the Fathers at Nice Eccl. Hist. mere as simple and ignorant as the Bishop of He-l. 1. raclea represented em; yet being guided by the Light of Grace, they cou'd not depart from Truth: and the Monks at Jerusalem in the Nicephora Reign of Anastasius Dicorus declare, "That Eccl. Hist. "the sour Councils were to be join'd with 1.16. c.33." the Sacred Books; and they pronounce an Anathema against all who equal em "not with the four Evangelists; and tell "the Emperor; that for that cause they

" will contend even to Blood. 24. How shall we know which Side the Holy Ghost chuses, when Councils compos'd, as with us, of distinct Bodys, differ among themselves? And such a Question may properly enough be ask'd, fince we have no reason to think that Synods now are not as much guided by the Light of Grace as formerly: For the the Clergy at present, for Reasons obvious enough, extol the Councils of antient Times above any now-a-days in this degenerate Age of the Church, as they call it; yet he who considers one as well as t'other, will see little Reason for this mighty Preference, and upon the whole be induc'd to think that tho Religion may have undergone a great many Changes, yet the Spirit and Temper of the Clergy, whether in or out of Convocations, generally speaking, is to their immortal Honour still the same.

P

84.

25. A Learned and Judicious Author Grounds of fays, " It was not unnatural in the Begin-Eccles. Re- " nings of the Reign of Edward VI. and " Queen Elizabeth, to think the Lords and " Commons were better Judges of Reli-" gion than the Bishops and Convocation. house. And the Reason he gives for it is, "That the whole Body can have no " sinister End or Interest to blind 'em; but the whole Clergy, which is but a " Part of the whole Body, may: and " therefore the whole Body is to judg of "this. But this Reason will make the " Parliament, not only then but always, better Judges of Religion. Nay, what he adds, will make the meanest Layman as good a Judg as the greatest Priest: for he fays, "the meanest Man is as much inte-" rested and concern'd in the Truth of " Religion, as the greatest Priest; for tho " his Knowledg thereof be not in all re-" spects equally easy, yet in some respects it " may be easier. For want of Learning does " not so much hinder the Light of the "Layman, as worldly Advantage and Faction fometimes does the Priests; and the " Examples of these are infinite (which shows 'tis more than sometimes) "Cor-" ruption in the Church before our Saviour, and in our Saviour's Days and ever fince, has oftner begun among the greatest " Priests, Rabbies and Bishops, than among the meanest Laity.

26. To this let meadd, that had Synods been compos'd of Laymen, none of those Corruptions which favour of Priestcraft, and

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and tend to advance the Interest of the Chap. 6. Clergy, and to depress that of the People, wou'd have been brought into the Church. And what Depravation is there establish'd in any Church whatsoever, which does not do this, either directly or indirectly, immediately or mediately? And what other Reason is there why the Church of England is so pure, than that the Laity had the chief

hand in Reforming it? 27. As the Clergy, tho few in comparifon of the Laity, were the Inventers, Contrivers, and first Broachers of Corruptions; fo on the contrary, wherefoever any Reformations have happen'd, they have been carry'd on by the Laity in opposition to the Body of the Clergy: For tho perhaps there were here and there a few fo honest as to prefer the Truth before their Interest; yet the Majority of the Clergy have always been against all Alterations for the better. And if a Man examines the State of Christendom, he will find that the more they have in any Nation abounded in Number, Power, and Riches, the more Religion has been deprav'd; and on the contrary, the less Power and Riches they have had, and the fewer their Numbers have been, the more it has been preserv'd pure and intire: as if to keep it fo, nothing more had been requir'd, than not to allow the Priests sufficient Means to corrupt it.

What other Reason can be assign'd why Religion is in some Popish Countrys more perverted than in others, than that the

P 2 Num-

Number, Power and Riches of the Clergy are greater there? And this you will find visibly true, in comparing 'em one with a nother.

28. And as there is a valt Disproportion in these respects between the Popish and Protestant Clergy, so Religion in the last is proportionably purer. And will not the same hold in comparing Protestant Countrys one with another? For can it be deny'd, that where the Power, Interest, and Authority of the Clergy is at the lowest ebb, there is not only less of those Diabolical Vices, Hatred, Malice, Animofity, Perfecution, &c. and in the room of these, more of the Angelical Virtues of Love, Charity, Friendship, Benignity, &c. but Men are less Immoral, Leud, Vicious, Debauch'd, and Irreligious; and have more of Sobriety, Frugality, Industry, and all other moral and focial Virtues?

29. And 'tis no wonder, because too many, in order to advance their Interest, teach Men to lay so much stress on things which no ways influence a good Life; to which Impertinences the more regard Men have, the less they attend the Dutys of Morality: and therefore the great Neglect of it among the Heathens as well as Christians, must be imputed to their Priests, in persuading 'em to place Religion in Rites, Shows, Ceremonys, and other indifferent Things; which since Men can practise without controuling their darling Passions, they will be sure religiously to observe, to make amends for indulging

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themselves in their beloved Vices, espe-Chap. 6. cially if they are persuaded such things are expiatory of Sins: and therefore the most Superstitious Nations have always been the most Immoral. And one wou'd think they had no other Notion of Religion than that it was, as defin'd by a late Author, An Expedient which Men had found out to satisfy themselves that God was satisfy'd with them, tho they neglected the common and plain Dutys of Morality.

with too many, what's the reason, that if a Man, tho ever so vicious, be but a great Stickler for the Church in fashion, that good Quality alone shall (like Charity) not only hide a multitude of Faults, but too often sanctify the greatest Villanys and Impietys? Therefore your immoral Men seldom sail to pretend a great Zeal for the Church, to atone for their real Enmity to Religion: And 'tis not strange, that Men under Persecution cou'd not forbear complaining, that they had not so much Liberty to serve God, as the Church's Friends had to serve the Devil.

31. 'Tis Sir William Temple's Observation, That Religion, or rather the Pretence to it, does the least mischief in Holland; and the reason is, because the Clergy have less Power and Authority there, than any where else: Tho even there, when they had an Influence on the People, and the States were guilty of so much Imprudence as to call a Synod at Dort, then Bitterness, Rancor and Malice were infus'd into

P 3

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mens Minds, and by consequence Disorders and Tumults did abound, which had like to have intirely subverted their Libertys: but by their suffering no more Synods, and carrying a strict hand over their Clergy, these by degrees wore off; (nothing being found more effectual to keep a pragmatical Priest within some bounds, than the apprehension of having a Staff and a pair of Shoos laid at his door) So that now more Charity and Candour is to be found among Persons of different Persuasions there, than any where besides.

32. The Synod of Dort, the call'd before the Spirit of Reformation ran so low, shows what little Good is to be expected from such Meetings of Clergymen; since it only ferv'd to increase the Uncharitablenes, Animositys, and other Mischiefs it was call'd

to prevent.

And as the great Schism about the Predestinarian Points, which has caus'd so much Mischief in the United Provinces, and which was made use of by some Men as a Handle to do more here, was wholly owing to that Imposing Synod; so all other Divisions on the account of Difference in Opinions, which go under the name of Schisms and Heresys, slow from the same Cause, the Clergy's putting themselves in the place of God, and requiring the same Faith to their uncertain Inferences and dubious Conclusions, as to the Divine Word it self. But,

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much way for the Reformation, as Henry VIII's depriving the Clergy of fo great a Part of their Power and Riches. For as it was their abounding in these which enabled 'em to corrupt Religion, so it was their being stript of them, which disabled 'em from continuing the Corruptions, or opposing the Lay-Reformation.

Mr. Fox very justly observes, " That P. 976.

" shortly after the Overthrow of the " Pope, begun by little and little the " Ruin of Abbys and Religious Houses in " England, in a right Order and Method, " by God's Providence: for neither cou'd " the Fall of Monasterys have follow'd af-" ter, unless the Suppression of the Pope " had gone before; neither cou'd any true "Reformation of the Church have been " attempted, unless the Subversion of the " Superstitious Houses had been join'd " therewith. And yet we have those of High-Church, who scruple not to condemn not only Henry VIII. for depriving the Clergy of these Estates, but those who at present possess them, as guilty of Sacrilege for with-holding them from the Church; tho taking Church in the Scripture-Sense, they are now in the hands of the Church, and have (ever fince the Church or People were posses'd of 'em) been a great Bulwark against Popery: but whilst the Clergy had 'em, they were a great Cause of promoting and continuing it; and consequently they who gave the Estates to, rather than they who took

P 4

'em from the Clergy, were guilty of Sacrilege. And 'tis the Interest of those who now enjoy 'em, to oppose such high Notions, fince if these prevail, they are in danger of losing those Estates, and with 'em their Religion; which, as there's no Instance of, so 'tis impossible it shou'd be preserv'd uncorrupted in any Nation, where the Clergy have such powerful Means of ruining it. Therefore our Wickcliff, and all others feriously aiming at a Reformation, have constantly endeavour'd to disarm the Clergy of these, as finding it absolutely necessary to carry on their pious Designs; in which if Luther abroad and our Reformers at home were more happy than others, it was because they did not, like them, miscarry in this Point. This enabl'd 'em to strike at the Foundation of Popery and Priestcraft; the Independency of the Clergy.

34. Which those at the Helm here took all possible care to root out; and had they not done so, 'twas impossible the Reformation shou'd have been carry'd on, since the Clergy, generally speaking, were Enemys to it. And in the Beginning of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, the Sees being sul of Popish Bishops, and the Convocation, with Bonner at the head of it, opposing all Alteration, the Reformation, to the great Scandal of the Papists and High-Church, may justly be call'd Lay or Parliamentary, Had Men reason'd at that time as some do now-a-days, "That all Religious Doce

Letter to a Had Men reason'd at that time as some Convocation do now-a-days, "That all Religious Doctor-man, trines and Opinions ought to be left to p. 8.

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" the Convocation as the proper Judges; Chap. 6. " and that Country-Gentlemen, Lawyers, " Merchants, &c. affembled in Parliament, " ought not to prefume to meddle with " those Matters, for want of a competent " Skill in Councils, Fathers, Church-Hif-" tory, Languages, &c. instead of getting clear, we must have stuck the faster and deeper in the Mud and Filth of Po-

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35. Not only in King Edward's, but for fome considerable time in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, till the Reformation was thorowly fettled, the Laity were very little influenc'd by the Clergy, as having a very mean Opinion of their Learning, as well as Discretion; and that not without good reason, as appears by the Queen's Injunctions, which declare, That in these latter Days Injunes. 475 many were made Priests, being Children, and otherwise utterly unlearned; that they cou'd not read: and that Ministers might read to the better understanding of the People, they are all of 'em charg'd to read leifurely, plainly, and distinctly. And such as are only mean Readers, are to peruse over before, once Injunct.53. or twice, the Chapters and Homilies. to the Discretion of the Clergy, the People must needs have a mean Opinion of that, when to prevent the Offence and Slander, which many Ministers caus'd to the Church, both in chusing their Wives, and indifcreet living with 'em, it was thought very necessary, under no less Penalty than an utter Incapacity, That no manner of Priest Injunet.29. shoa'd take to his Wife any manner of Woman, without

without the Good Will of her Relations, or Master and Mistress where she serves; and also the Advice and Allowance first had upon good Examination by the Bishop and two neighbouring Justices: nor cou'd the Bishops themselves marry without the Approbation of the Metropolitan and the Queen's Commission

36. If under these Circumstances (for

Dr. Lang-ners. And so contemptible an Opinion had bain's Pre-the Nation of Academick Learning, that the face to Sir Universities were in a manner destitute, the I. Cheek's Publick Schools being converted into private

jest to the Garden-Plots.

things were much the same abroad as at home) the Protestant Religion got the Afcendant, one wou'd have thought that Popery must have been quite extirpated, when the Protestant Clergy came to be profoundly learned in Fathers, Councils, Church-History, and to get an Influence and Authority over the Laity. But alas, the thing was quite otherwise; for the Reformation, which like a mighty Torrent bore down every thing that stood in its way, had not only its Current then fuddenly check'd, but it lost ground in several Places, and in others it maintain'd it felf with great difficulty. And this great Turn was owing to those absurd Notions, which tho disclaim'd by the first Reformers, were by degrees, under the shelter of the Authority of Fathers and Councils, intro-

duc?d again in favour of an Independent

Power, the Foundation on which the Great

ness of Antichristian Rome is wholly built.

And therefore 'tis no wonder, that, confi-

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dering the Danger of Popery has increas'd Chap. 6. in proportion to the Advancement of these Notions, there has all along been so good an Understanding, tho at present greater than ever, between the Papists and High-Fliers.

37. Let us from the Beginning of the Reformation afcend to that of Christianity,

and fee how things were then manag'd.

Then Churches by the Laws of the Empire were incapable of possessing Lands or Inheritances, and the Clergy, as they subsisted by the Alms of the People, so they were in all other Matters, as I shall fully prove hereafter, wholly dependent upon them; and then Religion wonderfully flourish'd and in-

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When they no longer depended on their Choice, or their Alms, but came to be nominated by one another, and to have Revenues and Possessions of their own, which necessarily gave them Authority and Power in proportion to 'em, then Religion went to wreck, and they abounded with all manner of Vices; Men running into Orders for the sake of worldly Grandeur: and too many of 'em had no regard to Religion, as a divine and excellent Science, and of real Benefit to Mankind, both singly, and in Societys, but only as they made it a Trade to enrich themselves and infatuate the Vulgar.

38. And the Reason why in some barren Places of Christendom, Religion, notwithstanding the Ignorance of the People, was not so much deprav'd as in happier Cli-

mates.

mates, is because those Countrys cou'd not support any great number of Priests, nor bestow any great Revenues on the few they had; and consequently the Clergy were not able (nor was it so much worth their while) to introduce or keep up Corruptions here as elsewhere.

Besides, their Poverty was a further Security to 'em, by hindring 'em from having fufficient leisure to attend the vain and groundless, tho amusing and subtle Distinctions the Priests coin in favour of an Independent Power. And therefore 'tis no wonder that when the greatest part of Christendom had most scandalously deprav'd Religion, those who were term'd the Poor Men of Lyons, Waldenses, Albigenses, &c. preserv'd it in some tolerable degree of Purity. And they were fo far from fetting up two Independent Powers, that they who officiated amongst 'em (as I shall prove hereafter) were fuch as we term Laymen, and generally of some secular Imployment, fo that they were no burden to the Community. I do not therefore wonder that such a Precedent was fufficient to alarm the Pope and all his Adherents, and raise a Croisado in order to extirpate this generation of Men.

where else, Religion (which is short, plain, and easy in it self, as adapted to the Capacity of the Generality of Mankind, the Simple and Unlearned) had not been render'd so obscure, perplex'd and intricate, nor mixt and blended with so many profound

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found and useless Metaphysical Notions, Chap. 6. and abstruse, nice and needless Speculations; the Introduction of which requir'd a great deal of Labour and Pains, Art and Skill, and cou'd not be contriv'd by plain fimple Men, who had other Callings to mind, but must be the Work of those who liv'd at ease, and were masters of their whole time; who faw how much it was their Interest to render Christianity Perplex'd and Unintelligible, that the Laity might not only admire 'em for their deep Knowledg in Religion, but likewise leave it wholly to their Management, as being infinitely above their poor Capacitys, and beyond their weak Apprehensions.

40. Which Design succeeded accordingly, and these profound Theologues impos'd on the easy People what selfish Doctrines they

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And to prevent their perceiving how grofly they were abus'd, on pretence of informing their Understanding, they industriously kept 'em in ignorance, by amuing 'em with artificial Cant and learned Gibberish, made up of obscure, doubtful, and undefin'd Words: by virtue of which they can defend any advantageous Doctrine, tho ever so absurd; since it serves 'em to confound, not only the Ignorant and Men of Business with hard Words, but to imploy the Ingenious and Inquisitive in intricate Disputes, upon unintelligible Terms, and hold them perpetually entangl'd in an endless Labyrinth of Words. And therefore 'tis no wonder that such Learning (if 12

it may deserve that name) is not only taught every where in the Schools (none being capable of taking a Degree in the Universitys without a competent Skill in it) but that Tutors read it to young Gentlemen; who if they apply themselves in earnest to the study of it, have their Brains generally fo confounded by this Jargon, that they are in great danger of never understanding Things clearly: but the most they can expect, after great Labour and Industry (besides an Air of Pedantry, a Narrowness of Mind, and Obstinacy in Opinion) is to arrive at the Art of Thinking confusedly, Reasoning wrongly, and Wrangling eternally.

41. But if the Crabbedness and Barrenness of this Study gives 'em an Aversion to Learning, then they consume their time in Idleness, and consequently in Debauchery; and such a Habit once contracted, is seldom

or never remov'd.

By both which means some Men equally gain their Ends; since by both, they equally keep People in Ignorance, and confequently can influence 'em as they please: Tho the last mention'd Gentlemen, as being most in number, make the greatest Noise, and every where baul the loudest for High Church; and are the chief Tools with which these subtle Clergymen work their Designs, who lately cut out such a Tacking Job for them, as, had the Experiment seceeded, must have ruin'd the Nation, and with it the whole Protestant Interest.

of De Priefts the Poreason earnest Educator wis

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of Devotion, tho not to God, yet to the Priests, who are in a manner ador'd where the People are thorowly ignorant; 'tis unreasonable to expect that they shou'd in earnest endeavour to make those, whose Education is intrusted with 'em, so learned or wise, as to be above Priestcraft.

No, instead of that they made'em, even in Philosophy, the better to prepare 'em for it in Religion, jurare in verba Magistri. For as no other Philosophy except that of Aristotle was to be taught, so his ipse dixit was fufficient for a blind Submission: And his obscure Metaphysical Notions, calculated as it were for the defence of their absurd self-interested Doctrines, quickly became the fundamental Laws, not only of Philosophy but Divinity. And a great Cardinal (a) has not stuck to acknowledg, That without his help we shou'd have wanted many Articles of Faith; for which Reason the Magistrate was bound to use the Secular Aid in protecting his Writings, and the Courts of Judicature to interest themselves in his Defence. And the Parliament of Paris, for instance, in 1629 made an Arrest against some Chymists who were too free with him, upon Information from the Sorbonists, that his Principles cou'd not be writ against or lessen'd, without prejudicing the receiv'd Divinity of

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<sup>(</sup>a) Senza Aristotele noi mancavaremo molti Articoli

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held in such Religious Veneration, that 'twas nothing less than Heresy to oppose them; which poor Ramus found to his Cost, who for making some Observations tending to diminish their Credit, was murder'd at the Massacre of Paris, with the fame Zeal as the Calvinits were. And Laurentius Valla, for Herely against the ten Predicaments, and fome fuch like Opini-Eugenius ons, had it not been for the powerful intercession of Alphonsus King of Naples, had been oppress'd by the Inquisition. Upon the first Discovery of Aristotle's Works the Scene was quite different, the Clergy being then in a terrible Apprehension about them; and not only a Pope, but a Council at Paris, forbad the reading 'em on pain of Excommunication: and feveral, as Mexeray faith, were, for the fake of his Opinions (the countenancing thereof being the chief Crime objected to 'em) burnt for Hereticks. In a word, till they found those Parts of his Writings, fo much afterwards in Repute with the Schools, full of that vain babling Philosophy St. Paul condemns, they were as apprehensive of 'em as some Men are of the Works of a \* late Philosopher; which they are afraid will let too

\* Mr. Locke.

Introduct. to Hift. P. 426.

Interest. 43. The Sieur Puffendorf, in showing how instrumental the Universitys were in promoting the Power of the Pope, faith, "That the Divinity and Philosophy proce fess'd

much Light into the World, and improve

Human Understanding more than is for their

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" fess'd there, were not taught with an Chap. 6. " intention to make Students more Learned \ " or Understanding, but that the Inge-" nious by these confus'd and idle Terms " might be diverted from thorowly invef-" tigating those Matters, which wou'd " have led 'em to the whole Discovery of " the Popish Intrigues. Their Scholastick " Divinity is for the most part intangl'd " in useless Questions, invented chiefly by " Lombard, Scotus, and other Patriarchs " of Pedantry. And what they call Phi-" lofophy, is nothing else than a Collection " of foolish Chimera's, empty Terms, and " very bad Latin. With these Trumpe-" rys the Universitys were not only over-" run during the former barbarous Times, " but even continue to this very day; and " tho most Sciences are so much improv'd, " the old Leven is with great Industry pre-" ferv'd and propagated. If this method of teaching booty was, as he observes, " contriv'd that the Popish Priests might " not want means to domineer over the "Laymens Consciences, and to entangle "'em with fo many dubious and double-" meaning Infinuations, that they " thereby render'd incapable to examine " and rule their Actions according to folid " Principles, but are oblig'd to be guided " blindfold according to the Pleasure of " their Father-Confessors. If this, as he fays, was what the Popish Clergy aim'd at, will not the Ill-natur'd be too apt to fulpect that others, if they fall into the same methods, have the same Designs of DomiDomineering over the Consciences of the Laity; and that cou'd they, like the Popish Priests, add to this a Restraint on the Press, their Business wou'd be effectually done?

44. It may be worth observing, that the Clergy, before they contriv'd this Jargon of the Schools, did not only endeavour to infuse into their Auditors an Aversion to all Books of Human Philosophy and Learning, on account of their being written by the Heathens, but took 'em away from the Students committed to their Care. Nav. even the Bishops themselves at the Council of Carthage, about the year 400, were forbad reading Heathen Authors; and St. Je rom, as 'tis faid, was whip'd with Rods by an Angel for reading Cicero's Works. Which no doubt occasion'd the Loss of many excellent Works, to the unspeakable damage of the Commonwealth of Letters. But when fome Nations cou'd be no longer kept from prying into Learning, this miserable Gibberish of the Schools was contriv'd.

To which had it been confin'd, the Mischief had not been so considerable: but it has unhappily invaded the chief Concernments of human Life, and Society; obscur'd and perplex'd the material Truths of Law and Divinity; brought Confusion, Disorder, and Uncertainty into the Affairs of Mankind; and in a great measure render'd useless

the Rules of Religion and Justice.

45. A Clergyman by the help of this profound Learning, tho he had taken the Oath of Supremacy, nay tho he had before

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his Sermon pray'd for the King as Supreme Chap. 6. Head and Governor of the Church next and immediately under Christ, yet cou'd in his Sermon easily distinguish this away; and place the Government of the Church in his own Tribe next, and immediately under Christ, independent of all Human Powers whatsoever.

To which let me add, that as nothing cou'd be more contrary to High-Church Notions in relation to Civil Government, than the Oath of Allegiance upon the Revolution, fo Men could not change their Sentiments on a fudden; and confequently, too many either dissembl'd, when in the former Reigns they preach'd up their enflaving Doctrines, or else in the late Reign they took the Oath against their Conscience; unless such Distinctions cou'd help'em out as must destroy the force of any Oath what-And possibly it was by the Assistance of these, that they never thought themselves better imploy'd than in doing iomething or other, which less subtle Men wou'd conclude was directly contrary to, and in defiance of their Oath.

that no Oath can bind'em, of which their diftinguishing away one so fully express'd as the Oath of Supremacy, is a sufficient Proof; so their Knowledg is so very profound, that they can evade any Precept of Morality: as for instance, the Rule of doing to others as you wou'd be done unto, obliges Men to allow one another the Liberty of judging for themselves which is the

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true

true Religion, and likewise of acting according to their Judgment; since this is the very same thing they expect from all others. And yet how many are there, who by the help of their transcendent Metaphysicks, have invented a thousand Distinctions to evade this plain Rule? And they who have Learning enough to make this great Law insignificant, strike in a manner

at the foundation of all Morality.

47. None act more abfurdly than your High Fliers, who wou'd confound this grand Duty of Moderation on no better pretence, than because 'tis no Commenda. tion to be moderately (meaning indifferently) honest or wife. A Character yet too high for such as on so gross a Fallacy endeavour to divert People from treating those of differing Sentiments with Christian Moderation. Men must either be very weak themselves, or else believe Peoples Understanding no better than their own Honesty, if they hope to impose on 'em by fuch trifling Sophistry. But the Author of Moderation display'd is very free with this Christian Virtue, and makes it, in spite of the Bible, to derive its Original from Hell and its Fiends; tho one wou'd think the Heat of that Place, and the Gnashing of Teeth there, feem more naturally to describe the Enemys of Moderation. But to return.

48. I need not mention any more instances of this nature, since there are as many Examples of it, as these Gentlemen have By-interests to serve. And whoseever other the A Clergy France propolarge S growi there they we this according to the second more

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ever will give himself the trouble to read Chap. 6. their Systems of Divinity, will find them suffictions and Words, of none, or at least no certain Signification; but sometimes taking 'em in one, sometimes in another sense, just as 'tis for their turn; very well knowing that Error being unacceptable to the Mind of Man, there's no other defence for Absurdity than Obscurity, and that the only way for strange and senseless Doctrines to gain Admittance, is to guard 'em round with Legions of obscure, doubtful, and undefin'd Words.

49. And had it not been the Defign of the Clergy, by these and such like Artifices, to keep the Laity in Ignorance and Superfition; what's the Reason that those prevail, according as the Ecclelialticks advance in Power, Influence and Interest? As for instance, are not the People more ignorant and superstitious in Spain or Portugal, than in Venice, or lately in France? And what other account can be given of it, than that the Authority, Power and Influence of the Clergy is fo much greater? And now in France do not Ignorance and Superflition proportionably increase, according to the large Steps which Priestcraft (by their King's growing a Bigot and Persecutor) takes there; which are fuch, that in a short time they will have little to object to Spain upon this account? But,

50. Does not this hold in Protestant as well as Popish Countrys? Are not People more Ignorant and Superstitious in Sweden

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or Denmark than in Holland or England? Have not the Clergy in those Places fo great an Authority, that they hinder all Liber. ty of Conscience? And do not the People pay them now as blind and implicit Sub. mission, as they did to their Popish Predecessors? But in these freer Countrys, as the Clergy have less Power, Authority and Interest; so Religion is better understood. and more useful and excellent Discourses are made on that Subject, than in all the World besides.

And if you compare the Parts of Great Britain, you will find that the Clergy have a greater Ascendent over the People in Scotland than in England; and are they not accordingly more Ignorant, Bigotted and

Uncharitable?

51. And in England, are not those whom the Papists carefs as fit Tools to bring about their wicked Designs, Ignorant, Bigotted, Priestridden Wretches? 'Tis not the moderate Churchmen who join with the Jacobitus and Papists in all Elections, and other Defigns; tis not they who are fo inseparably united to 'em, as to have the same Friends and Enemys.

If the Church of England is the Bulwark against Popery, it cannot belong to them (tho they would engross the Name of the Church to themselves) whom the Papists and Jacobites affift in all their pious Defigns, and in none more than opposing the Bishops

and moderate Churchmen.

52. There's no need to instance in any more particular Countrys, tho it holds in

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all without exception; when 'tis notori-Chap. 6. ous that in those Ages which are so infamous for the Universal Ignorance and Barbarity which then overspread the Face of Christendom, the Clergy prodigiously abounded in Number, Power, and Riches; and Priestcraft arriv'd at its greatest height. And 'tis as evident, that as this palpable Darkness vanish'd in any place, and the true Light of the Gospel shone fo the Clergy have decreas'd in Number, Power, Riches and Credit: So certain is it that Church, taking the word in the sense of the High-sliers, and Religion can never flourish together, but as one rises t'other falls.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. VII.

That this Hypothesis of an Independent Power in any Set of Clergymen, makes all Reformation unlawful, except where those who are Suppos'd to have this Power, do consent.

A N Independent Power in the Clergy is a certain way, not only to have Corruptions get into the Church, but to perpetuate 'em; except the Clergy, the first Introducers of 'em, and whose Temporal Interest 'tis to have 'em continu'd, do consent: for if the People without their Ecclesiastical Governors can reform these Corruptions, there's an end of their Independent Ecclesiastical Government; since that is a difowning all their Spiritual Jurisdiction, and setting up a Church-Government in opposition to them. So that 'tis necessary to own, that either their Power depends on the People, or elfe that these are oblig'd to submit to whatsoever Terms of Communion those are pleas'd to impose: for if they have the Government, not from them, but from God, then, as he alone gave it 'em, fo he alone can take it away; and confequently, till God makes it

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appear by some new Revelation that he has Chap. 7. depriv'd 'em of it, their Subjects are oblig'd to own them as their Spiritual Governors. But since nothing of this nature is now to be expected, Men must for ever pay Ecclesiastical Obedience to those Governors, tho they teach ever so false and heretical Doctrines, or require ever so wicked or impious Terms of Communion.

2. To fay that the People, if they judg they require such Terms, or think they teach such Doctrines, can disown 'em, and chuse others to manage their Church-Affairs, makes 'em not only dependent in the management of their Ecclesiastical Employs, but supposes all the Right they have to 'em deriv'd from the People, because upon their judging them guilty of Male-Administration they may deprive 'em of this Right, which cou'd not be, did it not at sirst flow from them.

3. The reason why the People may upon just grounds withdraw their Allegiance from the Civil Magistrate, is, because all the Power he has is given him by them in order to act for their Good; and they who depute him, must needs reserve to themselves a Power to judg whether their Deputy acts according to the Trust lodg'd in him.

But had he not his Power from the People, but immediately from God, he cou'd never forfeit his Right, or be accountable to any besides God; and only the Divine Power which gave it him cou'd take it

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4. By this Argument, the fawning flattering Priests in former Reigns endeavour'd to establish an absolute arbitrary Power in the King, which they very well saw was an unavoidable Consequence of a Divine Right.

But,

If God has not plac'd Mankind in refpect to Civil Matters (as these designing Men wou'd persuade the World) under an absolute Power, upon no account to be refifted, but has permitted 'em in every Society to act as they judg best for their own Safety, and to that end has given 'em a Right of forming what fort of Government they please, and to intrust it with what Persons they think fit; and of refusing to submit to them when they ad contrary to the End for which they were constituted: If God has, I fay, allow'd the Civil Society these Privileges; can we suppose he has less kindness for his Church, which if depriv'd of this Liberty, might not only lose the Power of acting as freely for the advantage of the True as others of a False Religion, but be likewise oblig'd to submit to whatsoever Terms of Communion (tho ever so false and wicked) a few Ecclesiasticks shall impose upon 'em?

5. There's more to be pleaded for such a Power in Ecclesiastical than in Civil Matters; because Men may refuse Communion with those Clergymen who pretend to have the Government in Ecclesiasticals, without drawing on 'em any of those Disorders which too often attend Peoples defending

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their Civil Rights. Besides, a Man may Chap. 7pay external Obedience in Civil Matters to
the Determinations of the Magistrate, tho
he does not believe 'em just: but in Ecclesafticals all Compliance which is not internal, is unlawful; because a Man has not the
same Power over his Faith or Religion, as
he has over his Estate.

6. Therefore as much as Mens Eternal Happiness is to be prefer'd before their Temporal, so much is the claiming a Power not deriv'd from the People in Religious Matters, of more fatal consequence than in Civil; tho they who are for it in either, are Enemys to the Rights and Libertys of Mankind, and can design nothing less than making 'em Slaves to Priests or Princes.

7. This curs'd Hypothesis had perhaps never been thought on with relation to Civils, had not the Clergy (who have an inexhaustible Magazine of oppressive Doctrines) contriv'd it first in Ecclesiasticals. to gratify their insupportable itch of Tyrannizing over the Laity, and over one another: for it as much inflaves the Generality of themselves, since those few who have the Government of the Church by Divine Right, enjoy it as independently of them as of the Laity; which must prevent all Reformation, except a Majority of the Governing Clergy chance to reform all together (which nothing less than a Miracle can bring about) and the Attempt in all other Clergymen must be unlawful, because it cannot be done without disowning their Spiritual Governors, in respect of whom they they are only private Persons, and may be wholly reduc'd to a Lay-State by them: because a Sentence pronounc'd by a competent Authority is valid, tho not right; and those who have sufficient Power to make, must have the same to unmake Clergymen. Therefore in order to serve them (tho I expect little Thanks for my Labour) I shall add somewhat more on this Head.

8. The Light of Nature, as well as the Gospel, obliges People to judg of themselves, and to take heed to what they bear. to try the Spirits, to avoid and flee falle Prophets, Seducers, and Deceivers, and blind Guides, &c. And if Men are to avoid fuch, they are to judg who they are, else the Command wou'd be to no purpose: which is inconfiftent with continuing those in the Station of Spiritual Guides whom they judg to be false Teachers. And as they are oblig'd to reject 'em, fo they are bound (unless they must remain without any Ecclesiastical Officers) to take those they judg Honest and Sincere, and who will preach the Truth. And how does this differ from a Right to make, or deprive their Ecclesiastical Ministers! To own they can unmake, or deprive 'em, by thus separating from 'em, and to deny they can make or ordain others, is abfurd; fince no more Power is requir'd for the one than the other: Cujus est destrucre eju est condere, and so vice versa is a certain Maxim. But if they cou'd not thus deprive them, all those Commands of seeing falle

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false Prophets, Seducers, &c. wou'd be im-Chap. 7. possible, since whatever they judg of their Ecclesiastical Guides, they are still oblig'd to communicate with 'em as such. And therefore upon this Supposition, the Popish Clergy are in the right, when in express Terms they forbid the People to judg for themselves, but implicitly submit to their Determinations.

9. In a word, it can belong only to the People to appoint their own Ecclefialtical Officers; fince 'tis for their fake that any Officers of that nature are instituted, and 'tis their Interest alone which is concern'd, and their Good or Ill which depends on the Choice of their Ministers: and confequently, that any shou'd have a Right of obtruding whom they please on them, is most unnatural, and contrary to the receiv'd Rule of having that which concerns Allapprov'd by All. And therefore there's no need of any particular Texts of Scripture to prove this Power belongs to the Church, fince 'tis an inherent fundamental Right of all Communitys. The contrary Notion not only makes the Church to be founded for the fake of its Ministers, who may rule and domineer as uncontroulably as they please, since the Faithful can never disown them, tho they act ever so arbitrarily, and tyrannize ever fo barbaroufly; but it necessarily supposes (provided there must be Church-Officers) that God either prefers an absolute Obedience to the Will of the Priests before the Salvation of Mankind, and therefore wou'd have 'em fubmit

to the most impious Doctrines those dare to impose, rather than throw 'em off, and put others in their places; or else there's no fuch thing as Truth and Falshood, Virtue and Vice, Piety and Impiety, but all Religion consists in paying a blind Obedience to them, without any regard to the Na. ture of the things which they impose as necessary Terms of Communion. Nay, this Hypothesis makes it to depend on the Clergy whether there shall be any Religious Worship or not; since they may, as has been actually done in feveral places, put People under an Interdict; and this may be done by the Caprice, if not of a Pope or Patriarch, yet of the governing Clergy, who are few in comparison of the rest, and who may suspend, deprive or degrade the Inferior Clergy, if they presume to be disobedient to their Commands.

10. But if these things are too absurd to be admitted, the Church cannot be depriv'd of their fundamental Right of making and unmaking their Ministers, and of regulating all Church-matters, as they judg most conducive to the Advantage of their Spiritual Interest. And the Scripture in recommending to the Faithful the taking diligent heed to the Preservation and Confirmation of their Faith, and to propagate it to their Children, gives 'em by that very thing a sufficient Right to make use of all proper Means in order to that End. And if it be allow'd, that the Ministry is one of those means, the Obligation

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tion the Faithful are under to preserve Chap. 7. and propagate the Faith, includes creating their own Ministers. And therefore tho it be customary to admit none to the Ministry who are not approv'd by the Bishops or other Priests, yet that is only a Trust they receive from the Church, which they are bound to reassume when 'tis abus'd by laving hands on fuch as have not necessary Qualifications, or are Enemys to the Truth, of which every Church (all implicit Faith being forbid) must judg. Nay, if every one has not an inherent Right to chuse his own Guide or Pastor, but others are to do it for him, then a Man must either be of the Religion of his Guide, or else be bound to continue him in that Employ, tho he believes the Path he directs him in leads to But none will fay, for instance, that a Protestant is oblig'd to take a Papist for his Guide, tho Popery was the Establish'd Religion, and a Popish Patron had a legal Right to present to his Parish; or on the contrary, that a Papist, as long as he continu'd fuch, was oblig'd to take a Protestant Guide, or that any Man was to continue his Guide, if either of 'em should. change his Religion. And the same Reason which obliges a Man not to take a Pastor of a different Religion, equally obliges him to chuse among them of his own Persuasion whom he thinks most likely to promote his Eternal Happiness.

As every one can best judg what tends most to his Edification, so he can best tell what Guide edifies him most, as being alone

able

able to discover who speaks most sutably to his Apprehension, or most raises his Affections to Heavenly Things, or any other way best advances his Spiritual Interest.

11. None pretend to impose a Conductor or Director on another in temporal Affairs. but every one is left to manage'em as he thinks best for his own Interest, as being presum'd to understand it better than ano. ther; and therefore is to chuse his own Lawyer, Physician, Brewer, Baker, & And by the same reason he ought to chuse his own Spiritual Conductor; nor can he. if he has any Concern for his Soul, which must be suppos'd to be dearer to him thanto any other, leave to another a thing of fuch vast Consequence to himself. Nor word any contend for it, were it not to gratify a temporal Interest; and 'tis most unnatural to think that they of all Men are to chuse Guides for the People, who have no other way to arrive at immense Honour, Power and Riches, than by nominating fuch as will pervert Religion for the fake of thefe.

many who wou'd be thought Protestants, instead of supposing a Man is to chuse his own Guide, as a necessary Consequence of chusing his own Religion, affirm the Laity are bound to submit to whatever Terms of Communion the Clergy require of 'em in their Provincial Synods, except those Terms are condemn'd by a General Council; and then they are not to vary from what the requires.

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13. This is fuch an absolute blind Obe-Chap. 73 dience, that these Men, tho they pretend the contrary, will not stand by it. tho they require fuch an intire mission to those Councils which they approve, yet they scruple not to condemn and reject others compos'd of a greater Number of Bishops, and sent from more Nations; and in express terms fay, no Council has Authority which is not Orthodox. But this is subjecting the Authority of Councils to the Reason of every private Person: for as that obliges him to approve such Councils, because it tells him they judg'd aright, fo it wou'd have made him condemn them had they determin'd otherwise; and by consequence, he is oblig'd to act contrary to all of 'em, whether Provincial or General, if his Reason, by which he is to judg of 'em, informs him they are all in the wrong. And accordingly we find the Reformers did not think themselves bound by the Popish Doctrines, tho feveral of 'em had been confirm'd not only by National, but (if there were ever any fuch) by General Councils. So that this is a miserable Subterfuge, which, instead of supporting, destroys the Independency of the Clergy, and fupposes a Power in the People to reject them and their Authority, when they require fuch Terms of Communion as they judg unlawful. If it had been otherwise, the People cou'd not have separated from Paulus Samosatenus, Arius, or any other Heretick, till some Council, either General or Pro-R vincial.

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wincial, had declar'd 'em so. But if they may separate from their Ecclesiasticks for speculative Opinions, there's no reason why they may not do the same for salfe Doctrines. When the Clergy are press'd hard on this point, the last Shift they have recourse to is, that the People, when their Ecclesiastical Governors require unlawful Terms of Communion, are freed from all Subjection to 'em; yet that infers no Depriving Power in them, but that God sins interposes, and deprives 'em himself, which makes it then lawful for the People to leave

'em. But,

14. Since the People's Right of deferting the Communion of the Clergy, depends on their judging of their Doctrines, and confequently they are as much bound to difown those they judg to be false Teachers, as if they were really fo; 'tis the samething whether you fay God or the People deprives them, fince they will be deprive whenever the People think they are bound in Conscience to separate from 'em. Some who love to raise a Mist about every thing, question whether they are oblig'd to follow their Consciences when erroneous; but that is the fame thing as to queltion whether they are oblig'd to follow their Consciences at all: because as long as one in Conscience is persuaded of any thing, he cannot think it an Error; and it must destroy all Conscience, if Men were oblig'd not to follow it, lest it might lead 'em into Error; and consequently, as long as the People's Consciences tell 'em their Eccle-

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Ecclesiasticks require unlawful Terms of Chap. 73 Communion, or are false Teachers, Seducers, Deceivers, &c they are oblig'd to renounce 'em. To suppose that God by an antecedent Deprivation disfolves the Spiritual Relation between 'em, is to fay that God deprives the Ecclefiasticks of the Power he gave 'em, tho they stand up for the Truth, whenever the People think 'em in the wrong; and that he continues the Divine Commission to the most Heretical, People think 'em in the right. And shou'd ony one fay this, it wou'd no more prejudice the People's Power, than it wou'd the Magistrate's, if any had a mind to banter. and fay he cou'd not deprive one of any Civil Employ, but that God alone cou'd do it, and that he always did fo, whenever the Magistrate wou'd have him remov'd.

absurd it is for Protestants to insist so much on the Authority of Councils; when (if it be not unlawful to speak Truth concerning em) there was scarce any, which, as they had an opportunity, made not their market of Religion, and fold it to the fairest Chapman; and were so subject, either out of Design or Ignorance, to be in the wrong, that tis forty to one that every one of em, taking one with another, was so. Nor can this be deny'd without giving up the Protestant Religion, since so few of em savour it; and therefore engaging with the Papists on that soot, is putting it to the If-

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## CHAP. VIII.

That the Clergy's pretending to an Independent Power has been the Occasion of Infinite Mischief to the Christian World, and is utterly inconsistent with the Happiness of Fluman Societys.

THE Clergy, who can't deny that 'tis absolutely necessary for Order and Government, that all others in their feveral Professions and Employs shou'd be subject to the Magistrate; yet make an Exception for their Dear Selves, and wou'd not only be Independent in the Exercife of their Profession, but as the Consequence of it, have him Dependent on them in all things relating to their Office, viz. all Ecclefiastical Matters. But no other Order of Men, shou'd they pretend to an Independent Power, are capable of doing so much mischief to the Publickas the Ecclesiasticks; because they have, by the Education of Youth being entrusted to 'em, the opportunity of stamping on their early Minds, capable then of any Impreffion, what Notions they please; which, tho ever fo abfurd, fuch is the Power of Education, are feldom after to be rooted And they are so posted in every Parish, that they can harangue in publick the Body of the People, at least twice a week;

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Book I.

chap. 2.

week; and in private, and in the ten-Chap. 8. derest Season, inculcate what they have a mind to: And the Multitude, as Grotius very well remarks from Curtins, " is more De Impe-"apt to be govern'd by their Priests rio sum-than Princes. And he adds, "That mar. Po-" the Kings and Emperors of Asia and testarum " Europe have learn'd this at their own circa &a-" cost, infomuch that to produce the Ex-" amples of this kind wou'd be in a man-" ner to transcribe the History of all " Nations. And confidering there's no Doctrine that advances the Interest of any Clergyman as fuch, which does not equally promote that of all others of the fame Order; 'tis no wonder if Men be unanimous in preaching those Doctrines, tho ever so much to the prejudice of the State. And what might not Men of their Learning and Abilitys by degrees introduce among the Ignorant and Unlearned, if they had liberty to preach what they had a mind to, without the least Controul, as they must, if they are Independent in their Ecclefiastical Offices? and consequently the Magistrate is oblig'd to have a more watchfuleye, and a stricter hand over them, than over others; especially if they at-tempt to persuade the People that in obeying the Magistrate they only obey Man, but in obeying them they obey God; and therefore apply to themselves such Texts as, 'Tis better to obey God than Man; Render unto God the things which are God's, Oc. Nor.

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2. Can the Magistrate allow them an Independent Power over others, in things of ever so much an Ecclesiastical nature, without the greatest danger to the Commonwealth; as for instance, If the admitting into, and turning out of the Church, did Independently belong to them, they might make such Doctrines necessary Terms of Communion, as wou'd (either directly or indirectly) cause People's Propertys, if not their Lives, to be at their Disposal.

3. Nay fuch a Power, tho in the most indifferent things relating to the Church, cannot, without the greatest hazard imaginable, be allow'd 'em; since the introducing new, or retaining old Ceremonys, when contrary to the Inclination of the People, may and frequently have produc'd fatal

Disturbances.

Book 1. chap. 2.

Bishop Stillingsleet very well observes,
That the least Peg screw'd up too high in
the Church, causes a great Discord in the
State, and quickly puts mens Spirits out
of tune; whereas many Irregularitys may
happen in the State, and yet they live in
Quietness and Peace. For we have found
by doleful Experience, that if Aaron's
Bells ring backward, and a Fire once
catches the Church, the whole State is
fuddenly put into danger; if Phaeton
drive the Chariot of the Sun, the World
will soon be on fire.

4. As all Monopolys are prejudicial to the State, so most of all are Ecclesialical; and it cannot be doubted, that if a Set of Men were able to persuade the World,

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that no Baptism cou'd be valid, unless ad-Chap. 8. minister'd with such a Water as they alone had the Secret to compose; or that no Bread and Wine cou'd serve for the Sacrament, which was not to be had from them: If they, I fay, cou'd get thefe things believ'd, might they not fet what value they pleas'd upon 'em, to the infinitely enriching of themselves, and impoverishing and consequently enslaving all others? For wou'd not they, who thought their Salvation depended on having this Water or this Bread, give all they had in the World, especially when ready to leave it, rather than be without 'em? And why will not the same Consequences happen, if it be once allow'd, that only such Men, and whom they shall admit into their Fraternity, have the fole Right not only of administring the Sacraments, but an Arbitrary Power of refusing 'em to whom they please? Do not the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs get infinite Profit by claiming the fole Power of making Holy Oil; which they pretend must necessarily be us'd in giving of Orders, in Christnings, in Sickness, and, if I am not mistaken, in Marriages? By which means, as they pillage the Clergy, fo these make Reprizals on the Laity, by putting what Price they please on this inestimable Liquor.

5. In a word, nothing is plainer, than that when a Set of Men can persuade People they are necessary to their eternal Salvation, they may so easily work on their Fears and Superstitions, as by de-

R 4

grees

grees to be Masters of whatever they pos. fess; especially if they are capable of Receiving every thing, and Parting with nothing. and have frequent Opportunitys, not only in publick but in private, even when Men are a dying, to persuade 'em that what is given to the Church (meaning themselves) is given to God, and is the likeliest way to atone for their Sins: And confequently the confining the Administration of Ecclefiastical Affairs to a particular Set of Men, who disclaim receiving their Authority from the Community either Collective or Representative, is the worst and most grievous of all Monopolys, and which must render us the Laity what we are suppos'd to be in Scioppius's Definition of a Church, A Stall, or Herd, or Multitude of Beasts and Asses; and that they (the Priests) bridle us, they saddle us, they harness us, they four us, they lay Yokes and Burdens upon us.

6. The Romish Clergy, seeing what Advantages are to be got by fuch Ecclesiastical Monopolys, have not only increased the Number of the Sacraments, and made their Validity to depend on their being administer'd by one of the Monopolizers; but to create a greater Reverence for him, suppose his very Intention necessary; and knowing that increasing their Fraternity is lifting Soldiers against the State, as having the same common Interest of enslaving the People, they raise infinite Numbers of em, to the unspeakable Oppression of the Commonwealth, which the Magistrate knows not how to hinder, having foolilly allow'd

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allow'd 'em an Independent Power in or-Chap. 8. daining Ecclefiasticks: A sure Foundation for carrying their Authority to the highest pitch, having it then in their power to ordain those who shou'd be for aggrandizing their own Order, to the Oppression of the Civil as well as Religious Libertys of the People. And what cannot a continu'd Succession of such Men bring about on a Superstitious Laity, ready to receive whatever they tell'em relating to their own Power,

for Heavenly Truths?

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7. How certain a Method to enflave the State a Monopoly of the Power of Excommunication is, I need not here mention, having already spoken sufficiently on that Head: and it can be as little doubted that the believing the Absolution of a Priest necessary to the obtaining Pardon of Sin, must have the same effect. Our King Henry cou'd not obtain Absolution for the Murder of Becket, tho own'd to be done without his Privity, but by absolutely disannulling, according to the Cant of those Times, the wicked Statutes of Clarendon, and all other ill Customs obtruded on God's Holy Church. The late King of Spain, as tis faid, being forc'd by Cardinal Portocarero, on pain of having Absolution deny'd him, to ign a Will, as contrary to his Inclinations, as it was to the Interest of Spain, and to all Justice and Equity, is a fatal Proof of this; and which alone one wou'd think sufficient, f not to open the Eyes of the Popish Laity, yet to hinder Protestants from believing ny fuch Power in their Priests 19 dem syni

8. Had

er to oblige People to do Penance, this wou'd affect their Propertys as well as Persons, and by degrees subject both to Them; since it wou'd be easy for em, not only to impose such Penance as People wou'd be glad to commute for Mony, but such as directly affects their Propertys. A notable Instance we have of this in the French Bishops forbidding Lewis the Gody, Anno 833. by way of Penance, to meddle again with Secular Affairs, that is, to reassisting the Crown they had deprived him

of. Oc.

9. I need not infift on Particulars, to prove how destructive 'tis to the Commonwealth for the Clergy to pretend to any Privileges or Powers they receive not from the People or their Representatives; because, as 'tis plain from Scripture as well as Reason, that a Kingdom divided in it sal cannot stand, so 'tis as plain that they who are for fetting up more than one independent Power (the only way a King dom can be divided) do endeavour in Ruin and Destruction, and therefore ought to be treated as Publick Enemies. Nor will the Distinction of Civil and Ecclesiastical at all mend the Matter, fince two fuch so vereigns must, as has been already provid necessarily clash with one another, and deftroy the Society by confounding sad other's Power. How fatal the Clergy endeavouring at an Independent Power is the Historys of those Places, where the have most prevail'd, make very evident

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for from them 'tis plain, that according to Chap. 8. the Measures they had of it, the People have been proportionably impoverish'd and ruin'd.

tion wou'd not let their Clergy enjoy fuch a Power, they have grown Populous, Rich and Potent; as if to keep the Priests within due Bounds, was a certain way for a People to acquire all those Virtues, which are necessary to make 'em thrive and prosper.

In a word, it holds true in all Ages, and in all Places, ever fince the Clergy have claim'd an Independent Power, that the People have fuffer'd more or less according as

they have been indulg'd in it.

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they made by it in the Popish Countrys? And since there are degrees of it among 'em (Priestcraft not being every where carry'd to an equal Height) so there are of the People's Misery in proportion to it. 'Tis very apparent, as Dr. Burnet observes, Appendix That no Subjects are so very unhappy as to his Trathose who live under the Domination of vels. the Clergy; of which he gives sufficient Instances to convince any one of the Truth of it.

12. And the Author of the Supplement P. 6. to Dr. Burnet's Letters tells us, "That the Priests have a Secret to make the Ita"liams miserable, in spite of that Abun"dance Nature has furnish'd 'em with:
"And that this is obvious to the Na-

"And that this is obvious to the Na"tives themselves, who will not stick to
"fay,

to fay, that the reason why the Inhabi. tants of that Country are reduc'd to fuch a degree of Mifery in spite of all the Bounty of Nature, is from the share the er Priests have in the Government; and that not only in the Pope's Territorys, but in all the other Courts of Italy where they have the main stroke. They will tell you, That Priests have not Souls big enough for Government; That they have both a Narrowness of Spi-" rit, and a Sourness of Mind, which does not agree with the Principles of human Society: nor have they those Compasfions for the Miserable with which wife Governors ought to temper their c Counfels; and that Unrelentingness of Heart feems to belong to that fort of ce Men.

13. This Character too well agreeing with High-Church of all Denominations, must chiefly be imputed to the Thoughts they entertain of their own Spiritual Privileges and Powers; which make em look down with Contempt on the Laity, whom they cannot think to be more above Brute by their Reason, than they are above them by their Spiritualitys: and therefore 'tis 10 wonder (Spiritual Pride filling 'em within fupportable Infolence) that they use the People as Animals of an inferior Rank, and have no other regard for them than to make 'cm as they are sometimes freely call'd, Asim !

Caje of the Portanda onera Clericorum, or according to Regale, if the Phrase of a late Celebrated Author, in Ed. p.207. Beafts of the People.

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better Condition the Subjects of the Republick of Venice are than those in most other Travels. Popish Places: but then he likewise remarks, That the Senate is as really the Supreme Governor over Ecclesiastical Persons, as the Kings of England have pretended to be in their Dominions since the Reformation; and the very Patriarch of St. Mark has no more Power than the Senate is pleas'd to allow him.

An excellent Author makes the same pref. to the Remarks on the other Republicks in Italy, Account and says, "The Reason why they have of Den" so well preserv'd their Liberty is, that mark."

"they keep their Ecclesiasticks within

" bounds, and make use of that natural

" Wit, which Providence and a happy Cli-" mate have given 'em, to curb those, who

" if they had Power, wou'd curb the whole

" World.

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Reason why the Regular Clergy are more dangerous to any Society than the Secular (which thinking Men among the Papists as well as Protestants own) is upon the account of being less dependent on the State, and consequently readier upon all occasions to act against it.

16. The great Advantage the Protestant have above Popish Nations is, That the Power of the Clergy is more reduc'd among 'em; by which means, and not by any difference in Speculative Matters, they are in proportion more Rich and Populous. And 'tis evident, their Happiness, in com-

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paring one with another, holds an exact Proportion with the degree of Dependence

they keep their Clergy in.

Is not Holland, from being one of the most beggarly Provinces in the World, become the most flourishing and most populous Spot upon Earth? And there we see the Power of the Clergy at so low an ebb, that they are not able to set on foot Persecution, or any other of their darling Methods, by which a Nation is render'd thin, poor and miserable.

Provinces, may not England be reckon'd in the best and most flourishing Condition? And have they not, next to them, the Clergy most in subjection, having always been most iealous of the Clerical Usurpations?

And not without good reason, since the Danger of losing their Libertys has been greater or less, according as the Clergy have had more or less Power; for which reason, upon the Reformation, the Wifdom of the Nation did all that was possible to hinder them from pretending to an Independency: easily forefeeing, it that obtain'd, the Nation wou'd quickly be in as great, if not a greater degree of Ecclesiastical Slavery, than when under the Popes, who living at fo great a distance, cou'd not carry on their Designs so well, as if on the Spot; and their Power might be And accordingly we more easily evaded. fee their Legates frequently prevented from coming over, and their Bulls from being publish'd.

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18. The Bishop of Sarum observes (and Chap. 8. 'tis well worth confidering) "That it was out of fear of the Bishops assuming Exp. Artic. " more Power than the Popes, that the " Princes of Europe came to an Agreement " with 'em in Ecclesiastical Matters: for " upon their being long at Avignion, and " the great Schisms afterwards at Rome, " the Councils began to pretend that the " Power of governing the Church was in " them: and they declar'd that both Popes " and Princes, who shou'd attempt to hin-" der their frequent Meetings, were fallen " from their Dignity; and they carry'd it " fo far, as to make themselves Indepen-" dent of the Civil Authority, particularly " in the Points of Elections. This dif-" pos'd Princes generally to enter into A-" greements with the Popes, and they " yielded a great deal to be protected in " what they had referv'd to themselves.

This shows to what a height Priestcraft was carry'd, when the Supreme Powers had no way to escape the heavier Oppressions, and more insupportable Usurpations of their own Clergy, than by submitting to the Pope's milder Yoke and gentler Au-

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under the Domination of the Clergy as formerly, it must be either because the Clergy (which they have given us no cause to suspect) are become less fond of Power, or that the Laity (Experience having made em wiser) stand more on their guard: which they doing more in

fome places than in others, is the true reason they are not in all places alikeim. pos'd on, even tho under the fame Form of Ecclesiastical Government. 'Tis that for instance, which makes the Hollanders, a wife and jealous People, less Priestridden than they are in other Presbyterian Go. vernments. And if the Clergy are more dependent in England than in some o. ther Episcopal Places, it is the fole Effed of those Laws, which the Wisdom of the Nation made at the Reformation (when what they had fuffer'd before was fresh in their Minds) to restrain and curb the In-Of which Laws solence of the Priests. fome now not only heavily complain as a Violation of the Divine Rights of the Ecclesiasticks, but (as may be seen in the Preface) demand for themselves, in the Name of the Lord, greater Powers than the Popes were in possession of; nay, make it owing to Popery (and probably what they most dislike in it) that the Lay Powers meddle with the Election of Bishops; which must make the People again, if these Men had their Will, have recourse to the Pope to be skreen'd from the more intolerable Tyranny of their But 'tis to be hop'd, that own Priests. God will be fo gracious to this Nation (which has hitherto better than most others preserv'd it self against Sacerdotal Incroachments) as to prevent their being fo blinded by the Artifices of designing Men as not to perceive their Danger before it be too late.

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cessary, since all such Doctrines as favour the Independency of the Clergy, must, if at all, be suppress'd very early. 'Tis too late, when once they have been suffer'd to take root, as those Princes have found to their cost, who have been insulted, ill us'd, and sometimes depos'd, for endeavouring to reduce their Clergy to their Duty; when by the Folly and Bigotry of their Priestridden Ancestors the Belief of an Independent Ecclesiastical Government had once obtain'd.

21. If Father Paul was fo long fince fen-Letters in fible of the Danger this Nation was in of English, being again Priestridden, and therefore Pref.p.516

expresses himself after this manner: " For the English I am in fear; the " great Power the Bishops have, tho un-" der a King, makes me very jealous: for " should they have an easy Prince, or an " Archbishop of a high Spirit, the Kingly " Power must fink by the Bishop's aspiring " to an Absolute Dominion. Methinks I " fee in England the Horse bridled and sad-" dled, and the old Rider, as I guess, will " quickly get upon his Back: but Divine "Providence over-rules all things. I fay, if that good Father were in such Fears then, what, if now living, wou'd his Apprehensions be? And how wou'd he adore the Divine Providence, which has given fuch a Christian Spirit to the present Archbishop and most of the Bishops, who instead of joining with the Laudean Faction in Ecclefiastical Incroachments, dare provoke the Malice

Malice of a Rampant High-Church Party, by fignalizing themselves in the Desence of Liberty? The very Apprehension of those fatal Consequences which their acting a contrary part wou'd have produc'd to the Protestant Religion and the Libertys of Europe, are enough to make one tremble who seri-

oufly confiders it.

There's nothing all good Governors ought to be more apprehensive of, than the Notion of two Independent Powers. For if no Man can serve two Masters, but he will hate the one and cleave to the other, 'tis easy to determine which of their Independent Sovereigns Men of these Principles will cleave to. They will conclude no doubt, as we fee they always do, that the Temporal Empire must give place to the Spiritual, the Profane to the Sacred; and that they who rule the Body only, and whose Province reaches to Earthly Things alone, cannot come into competition with those who govern the Soul, and whose Power extends to Heavenly Matters: which in effect is no less than declaring that upon all occasions they are ready to facrifice the Good of the Community to the Interest of this or that Set of Eccle-And when Men think they are bound to play the Devil for God's fake, and their Church-Principles oblige 'em to act against the State, there can be no queltion they will be sufficiently active, and flick at nothing, the ever so fatal to the Commonwealth, when 'tis for the fake of that Church-Government, which having

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as they suppose, an Establishment purely Chap. 8. Divine, must on no account whatever undergo any Diminution or Alteration: and confequently, Men must be depriv'd of all Human Rights, rather than the Clergy lose one jot of their Divine Power; which necessarily brings in Persecution, than which nothing can be more prejudicial to the Com-

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23. It makes a Country defolate, by rendring Property uncertain, by destroying Industry, by driving out the Inhabitants; is fure to ruin the best Subjects. the most Conscientious, and to change others into the worst, and make 'em ready to perpetrate, when the Ties of Conscience are once broken, all manner of Villanys, tho ever fo destructive to the Publick. Yet these false Priests, and those they govern, are every where for forcing all People to Submit to their Independent Power: And Perfecution prevails according to the Influence they have in a Nation; and where this is the greatest, there they carry that to the highest degree of Cruelty upon all who diffent from 'em. And by their Principles they are oblig'd to make no difference, because they hold that all who scruple to communicate with them are out of the ordinary way of Salvation, the utmost they can fay of the greatest Hereticks or Infidels. And the Reason is, because all alike by Separation disown the Clergy's Power and Government, the Test it seems by which all Offences are S 2

try'd: and therefore whenever they pretend to indulge one fort of Dissenters rather than others, 'tis pure Design, the better to himder 'em from joining all together for their common Safety: and I am glad to find the

Quakers now fenfible of this.

24. And here I can't but take notice. that the the Heathens were more divided among themselves than the Christians, vet that did not make 'em persecute one another; nay, we find 'em perfuading Chriftians to a mutual Forbearance: as for instance, Themistius a Heathen Philosopher, out of Concern for the Good of Mankind, offer'd fuch convincing Arguments to Valens the Emperor against Persecution, that it made him, in spite of all the Sollicitations of his own Clergy, put a stop for fome time to his Crueltys. This is the same Heathen who in his Consular Oration celebrates Jovian for giving a Toleration in the Christian Religion, thereby defeating the flattering Bishops; a fort of Men, adds he, who do not worship God, but the Imperial Purple.

one another, fo they had no Wars on a Thucydi-Religious account. For the fome Citys in des, lib. 2. Greece, in making War upon the Violation or Usurpation of some Temple, or rather the Treasure contain'd therein, have call'd it a Holy War, because that was Sacred or Holy, i. e. set apart for the common Necessitys of Greece, whereof the Temple was only the Repository; yet that

happening on Matters of Fact, and not of Faith

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Faith

Faith, in which every one was free, ought Chap. 8not to be esteem'd warring for the sake of Religion. But when the Christian Clergy came to govern the Consciences and Councils of Princes, there was nothing more frequent than Holy and Religious Wars. It must be a melancholy Prospect, to one seriously concern'd for Religion, to consider how from Constantine's time downward, Christendom has been the Scene of perpetual Wars, Massacres, Murders, Persecutions, and all manner of Violence and Villany, on pretence of extirpating Schismaticks and Hereticks, Men it feems so presumptuous as not to pay an implicit Faith to the Priefts who were uppermost, but who dar'd to diffent from em when they faw Reason for And the Clergy were not content only to embroil Christians with Christians, but the most active Princes were fent to fight against the Saracens, that they might, be diverted from putting a stop to their Incroachments, who by this means gain'd an Opportunity of confounding all Things, whether Sacred or Civil, which stood in their way to Dominion Troops ent

26. Of all the numerous Wars in which the Clergy have ingag'd the World, the best Excuse they had for any, was in Henry the Vth's time, when it was necessary not for the getting of more Riches, but preserving what they had already got. For as a Parliament call'd by Henry IV. was for im-Bale. 1.46. ploying the Revenues of the Church to Duck. Vic. ferve the Necessity of the State; and in ano-p. 12, 13. ther which met six years after, a Bill was

S 3 brought

HallChron, brought in to the fame purpose, the Com. fol. 36, mons again remonstrating that what the Fab. Par. Clergy spent in Idleness and Luxury, won'd 7. p. 390. be sufficient to make up the Deficiency of the publick Treasure; so in his Son's time they continu'd in the fame mind; and in the second year of his Reign they pres'd the depriving of the Clergy of their Revenues more eagerly than ever: Which firm and constant Resolution of the Commons, put the Clergy in a terrible Consternation; and therefore to divert the young Prince from closing with the Commons, they put

what a Spirit there was in the Commons, and how unlikely such Men were, if now in being, to repeal the Statute of Moranam,

or any Part thereof. But to return, 27. The Clergy were not content to facrifice fo many Millions on pretence of recovering the Holy Land, but they engaged the Secular Powers to extirpate with Fire and Sword the only Remains of genuine Christianity, the Albigenses and Waldenses; who seal'd with their Blood their Abhorrence of all the Sacerdotal Usurpations then on foot: for the Rooting Out of whom the Priests were so zealous, that they were for murdering the Catholicks mix among those Hereticks, rather than any of 'em shou'd escape. And to incomage the scrupulous Soldiers, they told em, that the they made no distinction, yet God would know his own at the last day MAN fo zealous were our Clergy for burning the Lollards, that the Statute made in the fe Hadden the State to the cond

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cond Year of Henry the Fourth for burning Chap. 8. Hereticks, is call'd in the Rolls, Petitio Cleri contra Hareticos. What Wars, Maffacres and monstrous Crueltys have happen'd fince on the Pretence of Religion. tho in reality for the fake of the Independent Power of this or that Set of Ecclefiafticks, is as endless to recount, as 'tis melancholy to consider that there's no likelihood of preventing 'em, till the Laity cease to be govern'd by the Clergy, or the Clergy renounce their Pretences to fuch a Power; the promoting of which has done more Mischief to Human Societys, than all the gross Superstitions of the Heathens, who were no where ever so stupid as to entertain fuch a monstrous Contradiction as two Independent Powers in the fame Society; and confequently their Priefts were not capable of doing fo much Mischief to the Commonwealth as some since have been.

28. What can be more destructive to the Publick Interest, than prohibiting such Numbers as those they call Religious in most places are, from marrying? which was chiefly done for these two Reasons, that whatever Riches were got by any of their Number, might be continu'd amongst 'em, and that the State might have no Pledges of their Fidelity, as Wife and Children are the only remaining Pledges, where the Person and Estate are exempt: Which made unnatural Lusts fo frequent and publick, that St. Bernard in a Sermon Burner's preach'd to the Clergy of France, affirm'd Exp.p.3361

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Bishops with Bishops liv'd in it.

29. That Men shou'd think there was a mighty Holiness in their Celibacy, they persuaded 'em that the Height of Spiritual Perfection confisted not in regulating, but extinguishing their natural Inclinations: whereas the Desire of propagating the Species being by the Divine Wisdom the most strongly implanted in Man. next to that of his own Preservation, abstaining from it must be such a Crime as is exceeded only by refusing to preserve one's own Being; and on some Considerations greater, fince This prevents the Existence of an Immortal Soul, That only dissolves the Union between it and the Body; and both equally wou'd, with a few years difference only, put an End to the Race of Mankind; the only Reasons of the moral Turpitude of unnatural Lusts. And yet notwithstanding these and all other Reafons for increasing the Number of Inhabitants in every Nation, the Clergy did strongly discourage Matrimony, by reprefenting a fingle State infinitely more acceptable to God; nay, made fecond Marriages little better than Adultery, fince they who were guilty of 'em were not only to do Penance, but to be for a time excluded from Communion. And one of the Councils of Toledo declares, " That who foever should orefume to violate their Decree against " fecond Marriages, thora King, Thought cut off from all Communion with Chif ci tians, and be deliver'd up to be hunt

Vac Doe

" in a Fire of Brimstone in Hell with the Chap. 8. othe Publick, and irrequent " Devil. And,

The Clergy had been bound as carly as the Council of Nice to part with their Wives, had not Paphnutius prevail'd on that Socrat.l. 1. Synod to change their Sentiments: and c. 11. Constantine who was intirely govern'd by the Ibid. Bishops, not only repeal'd those excellent Laws made by the Commonwealth in favour of Matrimony, but gave no small Privilege Visio Jilgim

to Celibacy.

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30. A State fuffers not fo much by the lofs of a Member, as by his living idly; because he then is not only useless, but a Burden. For one to contribute nothing to the Sublistence of others, and yet expect they should maintain him, is contrary to the Rule of doing as one wou'd be done unto, and a very gross Immorality. And yet the Clergy represented nothing so meritorious as fuch a Life, on pretence of retiring from the World, and dedicating one's felf to the Service of God; whereas we can no otherwise serve God, who wants nothing, than as we affift one another: And Religion, properly speaking, was not made for God, who being infinitely happy in Himself, receives no Advantage or Disadvantage by what we do, but for our felves, to oblige us to do all those Dutys in which our common Happiness consists. And tis not Solitude, but Conversation which civilizes Men, and teaches 'em to fubdue their Passions, which in Monasticks and recluse Persons are most forong and violent grand they tare generally Hogan as

S as great a Burden to themselves as to the Publick, and frequently do that Juffice on themselves which such a Life deserves. And yet how quickly was the Empire overrun with prodigious Numbers of these idle Drones, who the better to cheat the World, took to themselves the Name of Religious? But had the Empire maintain'd only the tenth part of fo many disciplin'd Troops, as it did of Religious of both Sexes, it might easily have subdu'd all its Enemys. But while the People were continually harafs'd by Perfecutions, and by maintaining such Numbers of Jazy Ecclesias ticks, and were oblig'd, on pretence of honouring dead Folks, to spend a great many days in Idleness ; and Marriages were not only forbid the Clergy and Religious, but discountenanc'd in the Laity; and Superstitions, injurious to the Publick, daily increas'd; tis no wonder that the Empire became an easy Prey to the Barbarians, as little acquainted with the Rules of War, or true Military Discipline, as they were with Civil Arts and Sciences and an atmost

St. Other false Religions were generally set up by some Politick Legislators, for the Support of their Government: but the Support of their Government: but the Support of their Government: but the Support of their line by Popes and Prelates in favour of their Independency, has suffered no Orders or Maxims to take place, which might make a Nation wise, honest or wealthy; but has in a manner destroy'd all the good Principles and Morality destroys by the Heathens, and introduc'd impoli-

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impolitick, fordid and wicked Notions Chap. 8. by which they Subjected the Christian World to themselves. It wou'd almost astonish a wife Man to imagine how these Men shou'd acquire a Power so destructive of the Christian Religion, and pernicions to the Interest of Mankind, did he not consider, that for many Ages together they have been on the Catch, and were a form'd united Party against the Purity of Religion, and the Interest of Civil Societys, which are inseparable; and likewise the use they made of the blind Devotions of the People, especially of the Northern Nations, and of the Avarice and Ambition of Christian Princes.

32. What is it has made the Doctrines of unconditional Obedience to the Will of a fingle Person, which on no account whatever may be refifted, to be preached up to much of late, unless that Arbitrary Power renders Men very ignorant and very fuperstitious; and gives 'em mean and abject Thoughts; and consequently makes em ready to submit to whatever the Ecclefialticks are pleas'd to impose upon 'em? Nor is it in the nature of things to be otherwise ofor where People are fo prefs'd in their Oircumstances, that they have little leifure to examine Matters of Religion in private, nor dare debate em freely in Conversation, much less publish their Thoughts; and the Pulpits ring with nothing to much as Implicit Belief and Obedience: There, I fay, tis impossible but Mens Understandings must be debas'd to such a degree, as to

3 .quil be ready to embrace the most abfurd Opimions for Divine Touths, whenever defighing Priesthood shall pronounce 'en atonifi a wife Man to imagine how that

And therefore tis no wonder that the Independent Power of the Clergy (Slavery of Body and Mind being inseparable) increases proportionably to the Civil Tyranny the

People groan under dat he raphu naor aven

33. Nature makes not a greater difference between Man and Brute, than Government does between Man and Man. That which is free, always canfes Light and Knowledg in the World; which must confound Priestcraft, a Bird nof Night which flees the open day. On the contrary, that which is arbitrary, fo cramps Peoples Understanding, that as it never did, fo it never can ferve to any other ale in Religion than to produce Superstition and Priestcraft in abundance.

And as Men are most ignorant under fuch a Government, fo the blind Deference they pay the Priefts, is in exact proportion to the Ignorance they labour

under:

under in a morning of this the old Lord Hallifax was not infenfible, when he told Drog Echard 69 That he had not in his Book of the 55 Contempt of the Clergy hit on the true "Reason of it, viz. the Knowledg of the "Laity: To which the Doctor, as his laid, readily reply'd, "That, God be thank's, there was Ignorance enough hill among the Laity to Support the Authority of the Clergy's a nout or b'sadeb ed flum ad. Tis

- 34. ny Pi Gover Know this t ences and K vail'd Barba tings Stratic the T full of

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36. terest reason to be violer ther 1 Coun Exam

the n Stance py Priests have such an Aversion to Free Governments, since all useful Learning and Knowledg is deriv'd from them. Twas this that made all ingenious Arts and Sciences sourish so wonderfully in Greece and Rome. But as Arbitrary Power prevail'd, these decreas'd, and Ignorance and Barbarity increas'd; of which the Writings of the Fathers are a sufficient Demonstration. And 'tis in some measure due to the Tyranny they liv'd under, that they are full of so many absurd Notions, and ridiculous Superstitions.

were bred in Egypt, made 'em so prone to Idolatry, and all manner of Superstition, that a continu'd Series of Miracles was scarce able to reclaim'em. And their Understandings were deprav'd to such a degree on their coming out of the Land of Bondage, that they were not capable of a Spiritual Religion; so that the Laws God gave'em, were in a great measure accommodated to their gross and carnal Appre-

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36. If the Clergy do not find their Interest in promoting Tyranny, what's the reason that if a Prince is so very weak as to be govern'd by them, they put him on violent and arbitrary Methods, till he either ruins himself, or, which is worse, his Country? And we need not go abroad for Examples; since this unhappy Nation is the memory of Man has selt two satal Instances of it, by the Court's being bigotted

to

ther and Son, as to endeavour to subvert the Civil Constitution for the sake of Church, the each Court meant a different Church. So that 'tis all one of what Perfussion they are, whether a Land or a Peters, who have the Management of the Bigottel Prince, since the People as well as the Prince

are in like danger of being undone.

37. That this was the Ruin of King James, is fresh enough in our Memory; and we need go no further to prove this the chief cause of his Father's unhappy Suffering, than a Book lately publish'd in his Vindication: which (tho printed fo many years after, and in all likelihood with more Partiality than the Author himfelf was guilty of) plainly enough discovers that those unnatural Wars were occafion'd by the Usurpations of High Church; who to maintain the Pomp and Power of their Hierarchy, put the Court upon such oppressive and arbitrary Measures as were insupportable to the best-natur'd People in the World.

From this Conduct of the High-flown Clergy, some have taken the Liberty to compare a High-Church Priest in Politicks to a Monkey in a Glass-shop, whereas he can do no good, so he never fails of doing Mis-

chief enough.

38. The more inclin'd Princes are to Religion, the greater is the Danger, if they are not able to diffinguish between That and Superstition, of their being influenc'd by the Clergy to act against the Publick Good.

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What a contemptible vile Character has Chap. 8. the Popish Queen Mary, and how odious is her Memory to the Nation! And yet the was very good-natur'd in her felf, as well as extremely devout: but not being able to fee thro Priestcraft, and delivering her felf up to the Conduct of her Clergy they quickly made her put off the Tenderness of her Sex, and become cruel and bloody, as well as ungrateful and false to those who were most instrumental in placing the Crown on her Head. Whereas her Sifter, as she was no Bigot herself, to none of her Counfellors were that way inclin'd. And how Happy, Great and Glorious was England made by her Conduct! which reduc'd the Power of Spain to low, that she became absolute Sovereign of the Seas; the Dutch, tho increasing in Trade, being fufficiently bridl'd by those Towns the had in the Heart of their Country; and the French not so much as daring to build a Man of War in the Ocean without her leave. So that She left the Nation in a Condition of being Masters of the Trade and Riches of the Universe, and of giving what Laws they pleas'd to the remotest Shores; for which nothing is dearer to a grateful People than her Immortal Memory: Whilst some Priests, tho they think no Commendation too large for those, who by their Bigotry and Folly have hazarded the very Being of the Nation, will scarce allow her a good Word; because she wou'd not indulge their Independency, but took from'em the Means of supporting it, vizi a great

were spart of those Church-Lands which were spar'd by her Father and Brother; in the latter of whose Reigns, the Popery was abolish'd, and the true Religion establish'd, yet the famous Heylin upon the same Reafons represents his Death as a seasonable Mercy to the Church, so much does he preser

That to Religion.

139. In Queen Elizabeth's Reign there was no Notion of Passive Obedience, to hinder her from affording her Affistance to the French Protestants, who took Arms in Defence of their Religion and Libertys; or from protecting the Infant States of Holland against the Tyranny of Spain. But by the Prevalency of Folly and Bigotry we had been fince reduc'd to the last Extremity, had it not been for the late happy Revolution; which resca'd us from Tyranny and Priestcraft, and among other innumerable Bleffings, has given us a Queen, who treads in the steps of that Glorious Princes; who is now the Support and Protectress of distress'd Princes and distress'd Subjects; who by extending her Favour to all her People, is as happy in her Government at home, as successful in her Conquests abroad; who can distinguish True Religion from Priestcraft, and will not suffer her Power to be made subservient to the ill Purposes of a Party, whose restless Malice is never to be fatisfy'd, without treading on the Necks of all who are not as bigotted as themselves. With what Zeal did this Party come in to all the Measures those Courts which aim'd at Arbitrary Power and 3891

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and Popery? But fince the prefent Court Chap. 8. has nothing so much at heart as securing the English Liberty's and Protestant Religion against the Power of the French Tyrant, grown fo for midable by means of that Prince whom these Men in a manner ador'd. they take all occasions to fly in the Face of the Government. So that the great Struggle at present is for Liberty and the Protestan's Religion, against French Tyranny, a Popish Successor, and Popery it self: On one; fide are the Queen, Lords and Commons, and all the fober and fentible Part of the Nation; on the other side, those who have been poison'd with wicked Principles in their Education; or in other words, those whom the Wisdom of the Nation declares to be malicious Incendiarys, spiteful and dangerous Enemys to the Church and State; and who to covertheir own Difaffection to the present Establishment and Administration, endeavour to distract the People with unreasonable and groundless Distrusts and Jealousys.

in several places not to perceive how destructive the Principles of the Priests are to Government, and therefore do what they can to sence against it. The Venetians, Burnet's for instance, are so very jeasous of all Church-Letters. men getting into their Publick Council, that as a Noble Venetian by going into Orders loses his Right of voting in the Publick Councils; so when any of them are made Cardinals, the whole Kindred and Family must, during their Lives, withdraw from the Great Council, and are incapable of all Preferments. By such

means

means as these this wife State has longer preserv'd it self than any ever yet did. But.

Supplement to Burnet's Letters.

42. Their Jealoufy of Picclefiafticks does not carry them fo far as it does the little Republick of Norcia, which the more effects. ally to shut out the Priests from having any thing to do in their Government, makes every one who can write or read incapable of having a share in it.

By this extraordinary Caution, which they most religiously observe, tho they live in the Pope's Territories, and within twenty five Miles of Rome, they preferve the Power of making Laws, and of chusing their own

Magistrates.

43. 'Tis not Popery as fuch, but the Doctrine of a blind Obedience, in whatfoever Religion found, which is the Destruction of the Liberty, and consequently of the Happiness of any Nation. And he who takes a View of the Protestant Countrys abroad, which have loft their Libertys even fince they chang'd their Religion for a better, will be convinc'd of this.

In the Protestant Countrys of the North, as the Author of the Account of Denmark (a Book much the best of its kind which has been written for many Ages) obferves, " the Principles and Doctrine of " the Clergy are those of Unlimited Obedience; and thro the Authority they have with the common People, Slavery feems to be more absolutely established there than in France it felf, and in effect

is more practis'd.

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it their as Print became Abfolute, that these Doctrines have been preach'd, but it was chiefly owing (as this Author observes) to the Clergy, that they became so, as well as that they are like to continue so. And he makes the same Remark concerning Muscovy, "That as the Government is as Tyranni-" cal as in any of the Eastern Monarchys, so 'tis the Priests who have very much contributed, not only to the keeping,

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45. And if these Protestant Kingdoms have yet preserv'd their Libertys when all others are enslav'd, 'tis not owing to those Clergymen who did their utmost to destroy the best Constitution in the World, by preaching up Unlimited Obedience to the Will of a Limited Monarch, and who by the Influence they had over the Minds of the People, had so prepar'd 'em for Slavery, that had King Charles been suffer'd to live, or had not his Brother tolerated the Dissenters, in all probability we shou'd have been in no better Condition than the Protestants in the North.

rope, which not long fince was for the most part free, lost its Liberty, he will find that the enslaving People's Minds made way for that of their Bodys; the Education of Youth, on which is laid the very Foundation-Stones of Liberty, being committed to the sole Management of such as made it their business to undermine it. And as Printing and some other Accidents occasions.

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fion'd

fion'd in the Laity Light and Knowledg always fatal to Priestcraft; so the Ecclesia. sticks doubl'd their Force for establishing Tyranny, as most effectual to reduce 'em to their pristine Ignorance and Superstition: not that they themselves believ'd one tittle of their enflaving Doctrines; frace there are few of 'em who cannot upon occasion as unanimously preach them down, as ever they preach'd 'em up; and when they find a Prince becomes the common Parent of all his Subjects, and prefers the Good of his Country before their feparate Interest, then they can run from one Extreme to another, and have no more regard for his Prerogative than at other times for the Peoples Libertys; thinking, by breaking the Ballance of the Constitution, to bring things into Anarchy and Confusion, which naturally ends in the Tyranny of a fingle Person. In other cases, their Interest obliges 'em directly to promote Tyranny, as the likeliest way to lord it over the Laity.

47. Tyrants are always fo advantageous to an Ambitious Priesthood, that they even know how to turn their Qualms of Conscience (which the greatest are not sometimes without) to the detriment of the Publick. For then they will not sail to persuade 'em, that if they act for the Good of the Church, by increasing their Power and Riches, and by persecuting all Schismaticks and Hereticks (viz. all who dare use their Reason, and not blindly colonial.

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fubmit to them) they shall not only atone Chap. 8. for all their Crimes, but merit Heaven by those glorious Actions. And Persecution agreeing with their violent Tempers, they will easily comply with it (especially when they are to partake in the Spoil) by which means they become ten times greater Devils than otherwise they wou'd be.

Of this the Tyrant of France is too fignal an Example, whose single Bigotry, by the dextrous Management of the Priests, has made him so great a Monster of Cruelty and

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48. And History informs us, that no Princes have been more insupportable, and done greater Violence to the Commonwealth, than those the Clergy have honour'd for Saints and Martyrs; who after they had rob'd other People, thought to make amends by letting the Church share in the Spoil. And 'tis from such Benefactors the Priests have got the greatest part of their Riches.

On the contrary, the greatest Patriots who oppos'd their Incroachments, have been represented as the worst of Men, and traduc'd by a thousand Lyes and Calumnys. So that one may be pretty certain that those Persons they rail at most, have more than an ordinary Stock of Merit, and those they commend most (to say no worse) no Pretence at all to it.

49. The Mischiefs which have all along attended this Doctrine of the Independent

T 3 Power

Power of the Clergy, are so very nume. rous, and fo very great, that what Amos the Prophet in another fense speaks of the Lord, may be fitly enough apply'd to them, Is there any Evil in the City, and have they not done it? there being no Christian Nation which has not been frequently embroil'd upon this occasion. Innumerable have been the Quarrels of the restless Clergy with Kings and Emperors about the Right of Investiture, the Exemption of Clerks, the Protection of Sanctuarys, the Cognizance of Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Causes, and fuch-like, all occasion'd by a Pretence to an Independent Hierarchy; for the promoting of which, they have not boggl'd at any Means, tho ever so vile, till by degrees (for what cannot fuch a Confederacy do?) they made the Christian Yet then they World fubmit to them. cou'd not agree among themselves about sharing their Usurpations, but at last the Bishop of Rome prevail'd over the res, and became the Head of this Independent Society; and then the Civil Powers had scarce any thing left 'em, except the Honour of being his Executioners, in murdering all who wou'd not own his Supremacy, with all the other Pickpocket Doctrines of Popery. And to what a miserable Condition Christendom was then reduc'd, is too notorious to be here mention'd.

50. Nor have things succeeded much better fince the Breach with Rome: for 10 fooner was the Pope thrown off, than to

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many of the Protestant Clergy set up for an Chap. 8. Independent Power; and quarrel'd as fiercely about it, as ever the Patriarchs of Rome and

Constantinople did.

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To go no further than this Island, have not the People by turns been harafs'd and persecuted, both by the Episcoparians and Presbyterians; too many of the Clergy of both forts, as they had Power, endeavouring to get all Dissenters treated with the utmost Rigor? And how much that Persecuting Spirit in one of 'em contributed to the Civil Wars, is too well known to be here mention'd. And after the Restoration, no Experience making fome Men wifer, I desire to know whether the Conduct of the Clergy was any ways alter'd for the better, or their perfecuting Humour abated, tho by it they became Tools to the Papists; of which they were so sensible in the Day of Distress, that the most Eminent among 'em, with the general Approbation of the rest, made solemn Declarations of easing their Protestant Brethren, when Providence shou'd put it in their power. Yet when the Convocation in 89 had by the Favour of Heaven an Opportunity of performing those Promises; was there not a Party among 'em who refolv'd to keep Faith as little with Schismaticks, as some former Councils with Hereticks? And therefore with scorn they rejected all Terms of Accommodation, and thought the very recommending to em such Alterations in Things Indisterent, T 4

rent, as wou'd make conforming to the Church fo eafy as few Protestants either at home or abroad shou'd scruple, an Affront never to be forgiven; which was the Foundation of the inveterate Malice with which that Glorious Prince, to whom we owe our Religion and Church, was to the last persecuted: Nor cou'd the Bishops, even those who had signaliz'd themselves in defence of the Church, receive better Quarter.

51. It may be worth inquiring, whether the Difference between the feveral Sects in England has not hinder'd the Clergy from making the best of a Doctrine, which, if carry'd to the height, gives 'em greater Power than the Popish Priests enjoy; and if by their united Force Slavery had been brought into the Church, whether the State

cou'd long remain free.

ther our Religion and Civil Libertys wou'd have been fafe, if there had been a better Understanding even between the Clergy of the same Church; that is, if the Bishops and Moderate Churchmen wou'd have join'd in the Methods of High-Church. If so, it affords a very melancholy Consideration, That in the best-constituted Church things me brought to that pass, that the greatest Good which can be expected of the Ecclesiasists is from their Divisions. This is certainly so, where nothing less than an Independent Power will satisfy 'em, for then a Union amongst 'em is the least desirable thing in

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the World: and they who wou'd compais Chap. 8. it by destroying the Toleration, are making Rods for themselves and Posterity; because as People have been, so the Presumption is, they always will be miserably ridden by the Priests, when they are closely link'd together in promoting their Independent Power.

of the whole Body of the Ecclesiasticks) by being strictly united among themselves, can effect; for tho they are hated in all Places of their own Religion, yet they govern in all.

54. If the Clergy from fo low a Rife as fublifting on the Alms of the People, cou'd possess themselves of immense Riches and Power, and notwithstanding so many Divine Prohibitions, lord it over their Brethren as they had a mind to; are they now so low, that they cannot, unless hinder'd by one another, become as formidable as ever?

What cannot fuch a Confederacy, on pretence of Religion, bring about, when most pay a blind Deference to what they teach? And of those few who do not, who is there so regardless of his own Safety, as by opposing their self-interested Doctrines to create to himself such a number of relentless Enemys, to whom the Motto of Nemo me impune lacessit does most properly belong? And therefore those Divisions which are amongst 'em cannot be

to the prejudice of Mens Civil or Religious

Libertys.

55. The Laity of the Romish Religion have receiv'd no small Benefit by the Protestants separating from the Church of Rome, in causing their Priests to retrench a great deal of an exorbitant Power, which was daily increasing, and must long before now have grown to fuch a height, as to have divested the Laity of all Property, and made 'em no better than Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water to their Clergy-Landlords, and which must inevitably happen, if ever the Clergy are again united under one Head. So that 'tis the Interest of Popish Princes, if they have no mind to be in greater subjection to their Priests, not to endeavour to destroy Prote-Stantism.

56. Among the different Sects, who are there so blind as not to see that all Priests besides their own are for enslaving the People; and never fail to do it, when they have got Power enough in their Hands? And yet how few are there who are not for giving their own Priests all the Power they can; as if the Quarrel had not been against being Priestridden, but only against being so by this or that Set of Ecclesiasticks? And we have not a few Instances of Men who have left the Presbyterian way they were bred in, and rail at the Tyrannical Power of Classes and Synods; and yet at the same time come into all the extravagant Notions of High-Church; which is running from one Phanaticism to another.

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87. As the High-Churchmen of any Sect, Chap. 8. if a Prince has a mind to trample on the Laws and Libertys of the People, will always be ready to join with him, provided he can make them believe he will fet up their pretended Jure Divino Church-Government; fo 'tis impossible they shou'd love a Prince who makes the general Good of his Country his Care, and will not allow one Sect to put Hardships on another. Then to be fure he shall be represented as one who has no regard to Religion, or Kindness to the Establish'd Church; tho both owe their Preservation to him, or tho he has given no inconfiderable Part of his Revenue for the Support of the Clergy in Which tho her Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to do, yet, as she assures us from the Throne, there have not been wanting some so very malicious as to suspect her Affections to the Church, and to represent it in great Danger under her Government; and Prayers have been made from the Pulpit in the Loyal University of Mather's Oxford, to continue the Throne free from Serm. on And tho the May 29. the Contagion of Schism. late King fo feafonably rescu'd the Church 1705. from the all-devouring Jaws of Popery, and took fuch care of it afterwards as to prefer those Men to the most considerable Stations, who in former Reigns had fignaliz'd themselves in its Defence, none being advanc'd by him, except a Monster or two of Ingratitude, who wou'd not have deserv'd their Posts in the most Primitive Times; and tho his indefatigable Zeal was not fatisfy'd with

with this, but he refolv'd to fecure the Church from all Danger for the future, and therefore not only gave his Royal Affent to a Law for excluding all Popish Princes from the Throne for ever, but likewise provided that the Protestant Successors shou'd be Members of the Establish'd Church: yet these and several other Laws for its Advantage, he having done more for it than any Prince before did, can't hinder the Highfliers from basely reviling his Sacred Memory, and reprefenting him as an Enemy to the Church.

58. If other Princes, according to the Pattern lately fet 'em by ours, wou'd en-

deavour to hinder all Usurpations over the Minds and Consciences of the People (the K. Willi- constant Prayer as well as Practice of the late

am's Pray- King) they wou'd make Mankind much happier than at present they are. But this can never be expected, while the Clergy who the Bp of

claim an Independent Power, have fo great an Influence over 'em; because their Interest and that of the People being as oppo-

fite as Light and Darkness, Knowledg and Ignorance, Religion and Superstition, Free-

dom and Slavery, Plenty and Poverty, they will continually be carrying on a uniform and steddy Design against the Libertys and

Understandings of the People, whom they can't render too low, abject and wretched

for their imposing Purposes. And the same Reason which makes 'em to be for Arbitrary

Power and Perfecution, things fo infinitely

to the Disadvantage of the Commonwealth,

will engage 'em to oppose every thing that's for its Interest.

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porations for the Poor, when all they get by it is bestowing their Time and Mony in so necessary a Charity, is upon the Church's account to be hindred by Law, as was not long fince attempted, what is there which the Church mayn't be pleaded in bar of?

Some indeed fay 'tis no wonder if High Church are not fond of Corporations for employing the Poor, because as the Management of fo troublefom and expensive a Business will fall to the Sober and Industrious, whom they despair to bring over to their Interest; so they think that will be apt to give 'em in all Places where these are erected, too great an Interest. Of this Bristol is a remarkable Instance; and the publishing an Account how differently Things are there now manag'd, from what they were when in the Hands of Torys. might not a little contribute to show the most prejudic'd, how unlikely any Place is to thrive, where High Church prevails, which in former Reigns was for destroying Trade it felf, as prejudicial to its Interest: and there are many leud Harangues in Parker, Goodman, and other fuch like Authors, on that Subject.

tage than a General Naturalization of all, at least of the Reform'd Religion? And is not Church the main Obstacle to this? And is there not the same Objection against uniting all her Majesty's Subjects under one Legislature? Nay, is not this made use of as

an Argument to hinder even the Northern Countys from being put into a Posture of Defence; tho arming and disciplining the People in the adjacent Kingdom makes their being on their Guard highly necessary? And if High-Church is in deep Apprehension that the Church of England as well as the State is in danger from Arms being put into the hands of the People of Scotland, it must be some strange Mystery indeed which hinders 'em from being willing that the English People shou'd be put in a Posture of Defence, in order to prevent and repel those Dangers. And is not the same Plea urg'd with the utmost Violence against a better Union of her Majesty's Subjects at home, by allowing all who hold no Opinions prejudicial to the State, and contribute equally with their Fellow-Subjects to its Support, equal Privileges in it, and thereby making it their equal Interest to support it?

which Kingdoms flourish, demand that they who alike contribute to the Burden, shou'd alike receive the Advantage? A natural Right of which Christianity is so far from depriving Men, that no Party can do it without breaking in on the grand Rule of doing as they wou'd be done unto. How can a Government, which is willing to act for the general Good of all the People, put Hardships on any part of them, especially if they are very numerous, for doing that without which they can't be good Subjects or Citizens,

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zens, viz. the worshipping God according Chap. 8. to Conscience? And the Good of the National Church, where different Sects are tolerated, requires this Treatment; because then if one of 'em attempts any thing to its prejudice, all the rest in Interest will be bound to oppose it; especially with us, where none of the Sects, the Presbyterians only excepted, are by their Constitution capable of becoming National Church: So that all they can desire is to be on a level in Civil Matters. And as no Church was ever ruin'd by taking gentle Methods, fo the contrary Course, by uniting the Sectarys, which that alone can do, has within the Memory of Man more than once destroy'd the National Churches both of England and Scotland.

62. Supposing the Good of the State is the supreme Law, I can, with submission, fee no necessity for a Religious Test in Civil Imploys (a thing unheard of till the times of Popery) if it not only debars the Government of the Assistance of all its Subjects, tho the Occasion be ever so great, but tends to alienate the Affections of those who are put under this Incapacity; since, besides other Inconveniencys, it represents 'em as ' Enemys to their Country, and is a mark of Difgrace and Infamy, as well as a badg of Servitude. And if a State is secure, as there's no instance to the contrary, where Justice is fairly and impartially administred, there can be no Alteration in the establish'd Mode of Church-Discipline, which is not

made in a Legal way. And Discipline heing, as is already provid, of a mutable nature, ought always to undergo such Changes as are agreeable to the Inclinations of the People; which will mainly conduce to keep the Clergy who are uppermost within bounds, a thing on which the Security of the Church highly depends, since only the Violence and Fury of the High-sliers can prejudice it.

Ecclesiastical Discipline is the grand Law, and that is to be secur'd by Persecution, as every thing is Persecution which upon this account puts a Man in a worse Condition than his Neighbours; nothing less than Banishment or Death ought to be the Fate of all Dissenters, since any Hardship below this must turn to the prejudice of the National

Church.

64. If the great Advantage, as well assecurity, which both Church and State have got by the Kindness already shown to Differers, will not teach us to make it compleat; yet we might learn from our Enemys not to keep Distinctions among Protestants, since 'tis that by which the Papiss have all along endeavour'd to ruin us: and our more restless Enemys the Jacobites have appear'd so zealous for the Occasional Conformity-Bill, that there's scarce any of 'encapable of Scribling, who have not publish'd something on its behalf.

Church, posses'd the Papists at a strang rate, when it cou'd bring 'em into a Gue poudhave
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ponder Plot: Which in probability must Chap. 82 have ended in their own Ruin, at least it was not likely to be so fatal as the Tack; which if it had succeeded in the manner as some Men wish'd, must have endanger'd the Liberty of all Europe, as well as the Protestant Religion both at Home and Abroad. But,

66. There cou'd be no Colour for a thoufand Things which obtain in most Places, directly contrary to the Publick Good, on pretence of supporting this or that Form of Ecclefiastical Government, if Bigots did not blaspheme the infinite Wisdom as well as Goodness of God, by supposing his two Grand Laws inconfiftent; and therefore are perpetually acting against the Publick Good on pretence of advancing the Honour of God: which is so far from being opposite to the Good of Man, that 'tis in effect the same, since the Happier Men are, the more Reason they have to honour Him who made 'em fo; and the more they do that, the more will they observe those Dutys in which their mutual Happiness

67. Religion, properly speaking, was not ordain'd for God's sake, who wants nothing, but for our own, in order to make us do all those Things which are for our general Good: Or in other words, so Infinite is God's Goodness, that (as I shall sully demonstrate in the next Part) herequires nothing to qualify Mankind for their staure, which does not tend to their present Happiness. And as God before the

Coming of Christ requir'd only moral Qualifications for People in publick Posts, so Christ never design'd the Holy Sacraments shou'd be prostituted to serve a Party; or that promoting his Church shou'd be made a Pretence to deprive People of any Privilege, to which otherwise they wou'd have a Right; and that People shou'd be brib'd by a Place to receive unworthily; or that such Stumbling-blocks, to the great Increase of Irreligion and Hypocrify, shou'd be laid in Mens ways on a Church-account. But.

· 68. While Bigots think any one Form of Church-Government of Divine Appointment, the Regard to that, and those Powers the Clergy claim on pretence of it, will influence 'em in all their Actions; and they will be for preferring Men to Civil Posts, not according to their Integrity and Capacity to ferve the Publick, but for their Zeal to the Church, which shall not only recommend the most Unqualify'd, but support'em in their Employs, tho they behave themselves ever so ill, and are guilty of Cowardice or Treachery, even in fuch Expeditions as the Safety of the Nation depends on; while others, tho ever fo Brave and Honest, shall either not be imployed at all, or upon frivolous Pretences be laid aside.

69. Bigotry being blind to the faults of its Votarys, those who are in the French or Jacobitish Interest will endeavour to disguise their curs'd Designs on pretence of being for the Church: for then examining their former Actions, or prying too narrowly

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rowly into their present Conduct, shall be Chap-8; interpreted Envy to the Church; and under a seeming Zeal for That, they shall not only recommend any thing which tends to divide and embroil the Nation, but attempt to ruin those, whose Principles make 'em true Friends to the Government, and who dare oppose their pernicious Designs. So that amongst others besides profest Papists, the Church now becomes, and in the very worst way too, a Sanctuary for Ill Men and Ill Practices. And,

70. If at last the Eyes of the Government are open, and it is resolved to employ none, notwithstanding their Church-pretences, who betray Counsels, who endeavour to render all Designs for the Publick Good abortive, who oppose every thing tending to reduce the Enemy, strengthen the Allys, or unite the People; then the Church, if we may believe the Memorial which goes under its Name, is in great danger; and its Nature being very apt to rebel, the odds, it says, are vast on Nature's side: and those Enemys its Nature is to be rous'd against, are they who have con-

71. High-Church can, it feems, work Miracles, and has a fort of Transubstantiating Power, which on a sudden converts a Villain into a Patriot, a French Pen-

tributed most to the Safety of the State;

as if beating the French at Hochstet, and

managing the Revenue after a most frugal and prudent manner, were such Ecclesiastical Crimes as are never to be forgiven.

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sioner into a true English-man, an Atheis into a Saint; and it makes one who never did a good Action, or ever was thought to have one good Quality (except his great Humility in condescending to the meanest Cheats, may be reckon'd fuch) the first Man in the foremost Rank of High-Church Champions: and it can turn a formal Blockhead into a deep Statesman, and qualify even the Author of the Grand Tom for the Grand Chair; and can reconcile Passive-Obedience Principles to a Revolution-Government, and the Unalterable Right of the Lineal Succession with the Abjuration Oath, and calling over the Princes Sophia: Nay, it can make fuch as ridicule the Dangers of Popery, even on a Day lt apart by Law to shew the just Apprehenfions of it, the best Protestants, and qualify one of 'em, notwithstanding he made Lucifer's Rebellion against God a less Crime than that against King Charles, and putting him to death worse than murdering ou Saviour, to be Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation. High-Church can make the Peers Commonwealths-men, the Bishops Presbyterians, and the Lower House, which sets up for a Presbyterian Parity, and claims a Co-ordinate Power with the Bishops, the only Men for Episcopacy. Nay, what can it not do, fine it can make a drawn Battel equal to the compleatest Victory, and one voted by Parliament an Enemy to the King and King dom, one who with other High-China Champions was in King James's High Commission

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mission to destroy the Church, and for se-Chap. 8. cret Services had not only a Sum of Mony but an extravagant Pension for Life, one who isfu'd out Orders for levying Customs without Consent of Parliament (and how fairly his Accounts were kept, the Hearthmony-book is a fufficient Proof) one who oppos'd the Abdication, the Recognition, and all those Methods which brought the Queen to the Throne; one who was against a War with France, and kept it off fo long till the French King fettl'd himself in his new Acquisitions: Yet he, even he, I say, fuch is the wonder-working Power of High Church, is the only fit Man to be Prime M——r and T——r. And if another Great Person, as the Torys wou'd insinuate, was once in the Interest of the Family at St. Germains, their railing at him now with fo great bitterness is a Demonstration that he quitted it, fince as long as they suppos'd he espous'd it, none was more cares'd by 'em.

72. As 'twou'd be endless to reckon up all the Miracles of this nature, so there has been a time, when the best Friends to the Constitution both in Church and State, for not coming up to the extravagant Notions of High-Church, were represented by those who were undermining both, as Fanaticks and Commonwealths-men. Then Jurys and Judges too had more regard to the Character of High-Church, than any other Consideration; and the Question seem'd not to be, who had the Right, but who was a right Churchman. And so intoxicated

toxicated were the People with the High. flown Doctrines of those times, that our Libertys and Religion were within an ace of Ruin.

If Men make no better use of so wonderful a Deliverance than to be drawn into the fame Danger on the very fame Pretences, and by the very fame Men, they have little reason to imagine Providence will interpose again in so extraordinary a

manner.

73. These absurd Notions, relating to the Independent Power of the Clergy, had not prevail'd on so many, but for the Prejudice of Education, at a time when the Mindis capable of having any Impression so strongly stampt on it, that 'tis very seldom or ever after worn out. And therefore they who have any regard for the Publick, or any Concern for their own Offspring, shou'd not trust their Education with such, as instead of instilling Noble and Generous Principles into them, and teaching 'em to make the Publick Good the chief Design of their Lives, infuse in 'em a blind Zeal for the Power of the Church, as the Clergy who are uppermost call themselves; and persuade 'em to sacrifice the Good of their Country, the Libertys of the People, and every thing elfe which is valuable, to that Idol.

A Man who imbibes fuch Principles, must, as has been alread, hown, in a thousand Instances act like an Tuemy to his Country. Country. And the reason why the middle fort of People retain fo much of their antient \ of the Notio tion; when can, get cle

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tient Virtue, and are intirely in the Interest Chap. 8. of the Nation, is because no such pernicious Notions are the Ingredients of their Education; which 'tis a fign are infinitely abfurd. when fo many of the Gentry and Nobility can, notwithstanding their Preposiession,

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74. The Greek and Roman Citizens, as they were the most passionate Lovers of their Country, and ready on all occasions to facrifice their Lives and Fortunes for its Interest; so that was owing to the Happiness of their Education, in having such Tutors, as made it their principal business to inspire their Youth with truly Noble and Generous Notions; which being early inculcated, made fuch deep Impressions, that they were steddily influenc'd by them as long as they liv'd. They were so far from being persuaded, that there was an Interest distinct and separate from State, and to be prefer'd before it, that they were taught, that the best and chiefest part of Religion confifted in promoting the Publick Good (a); and that those who were fignally instrumental in it, shou'd enjoy hereafter the greatest Share of Happiness. And therefore 'tis no wonder, that such different Education has created in

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<sup>(</sup>a) Omnibus qui Patriam conservarint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum effe in cœlo locum ubi beati avo sempiterno fruantur. Nihil en m illi Principi Deo qui omnem hunc mundum regit, quod quidem in terris fiat acceptius quam Concilia Cœtusque hominum jure lociati, quæ Civitates appellantur. Somn. Schionis.

The Rights of the

mens Minds fuch different Sentiments with relation to the Publick. Had Men now-adays the fame Notions early infus'd into 'em, there's no doubt it wou'd make the fame lafting Impressions, and produce the

fame generous Effects.

75. But if New Rome (to mention no other Place) has fo prodigiously degenerated, as to have few or none of those Noble or Social Virtues which fo adorn'd the Old, it can be imputed to nothing (the Climate being still the same) except the different Notions which are infus'd into People in their Educations. And Priest. craft is fo rank a Weed, that it will not fuffer a Plant of any Virtue to grow near And yet who wou'd not have prefum'd, but that New Rome shou'd have excel'd the Old in all manner of Virtues; fince one has the Light of the Gospel, and an infinite Number of Clergymen to make it shine the brighter, and the other was in Heathenish Darkness? And yet, notwithstanding this Heathenish Darkness, the Education of their Youth was fuch, that (to use the words of an Author, whose Love to his Country equals any of the Ro-

Account of Denmark.

Pref. to the mans) " it tended to make 'em as useful to "the Society they liv'd in as possible. "There they were train'd up to Exercise " and Labour, to accustom themselves to an active Life; no Vice was more infamous than Sloth, nor any Man more contemptible than him who was too 66 lazy to do all the Good he cou'd. The Lectures of their Philosophers cc ferv'd " ferv " reco " to

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" ferv'd to quicken 'em up to this; they Chap. 8. " recommended above all things the Duty " to their Country, the Preservation of " the Laws, and Publick Liberty; fubser-" vient to which they preach'd up Moral "Virtues, such as Fortitude, Temperance, "Justice, a Contempt of Death, &c. "They taught their Youth how, and " when to speak pertinently, how to act " like Men, to fubdue their Passions, to be " publick spirited, to despise Death, Tor-" ments and Reproach, Riches, and the "Smiles of Princes as well as " Frowns, if they stood between them " and their Duty. This manner of Edu-" cation produc'd Men of another stamp " than appears now upon the Theatre of " the World, fuch as we are scarce wor-"thy to mention, and must never think " to imitate, till the like manner of In-" stitution grows again into Reputation, " which in enflav'd Countrys 'tis never like " to do, as long as the Ecclefiafticks, who " have an opposite Interest, keep not only " the Education of Youth, but the Confci-" ences of old Men in their hands. 76. How wou'd the antient Philosophers,

who by their Examples as well as Precepts instructed the Youth committed to their Care to sacrifice even their Lives for the Preservation of Publick Liberty; how, I say, wou'd they have been surprized, cou'd they have foreseen the Conduct of our modern Philosophers? who not content in being the vilest Flatterers of Arbitrary Power themselves, taught their Pupils,

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mit to Slavery and Death, rather than preserve Liberty and Life by opposing

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Tyranny.

The infamous School-master, who decoy'd the chief Youth of the Falisci his Scholars into Camillus's Camp, these Philofophers wou'd not have condemn'd guilty of so base a Treachery, as they wou'd those, who by a Decree which they folemnly enacted, betray'd their Pupils, the young Nobility and Gentry, into a Belief, That Men were Slaves by Nature, and that they cou'd not free themselves, how much foever they fuffer'd from the Infolence of Tyrants (which by the Encouragement of this Doctrine grew daily more insupportable) without running into the only worse State, that of Damnation.

77. Those Philosophers wou'd have thought the Assertors of this Doctrine, which they pretended was to prevent all Rebellion, guilty of the greatest; since it broke down all the legal Fences, subverted the whole Constitution, in making an Absolute and Unlimited Obedience due to the Arbitrary Will of One, who had no Power to suspend, repeal, or make Laws, but only put those already made in execution.

Those Philosophers wou'd have concluded, that they had no more regard to Religion than Liberty, to the Church than the State, who made it a damnable Doctrine to assert the Lawfulness of precluding

Oxford Decree, 1683.

Ibid.

the next Heir from the Right of Succession Chap. 8. to the Crown, tho they knew him to be of a Church which oblig'd him to extirpate all Protestants, who were ty'd up by this Decree from making the leaft

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78. I shou'd not have said so much of this Doctrine, were it not almost as cur-Universirent now, as when an absolute uncondi-ty's Addr. tional Obedience to King James was declar'd James, 85. by that University as the Doctrine of the before their Church, which they were bound to abide Congratuby; infomuch that the publick Orator be-latory Vergun his Complement to the Queen after Jes. this manner: Cum Principibus etiam Tyrannis Vid. Epininec in Subditorum salutem, sed exitium natis, cion Oxoquamvis ab iis male meritum, Obsequium ta-niense. men paratissimum debeamus prastare, & eas deosculari manus a quibus laceramur. the famous Author of the Character of a Low Churchman makes an unconditional abso-P. 12. lute Passive Obedience, without any Limitation or Exception, an eternal and indispensable Truth; and laughs at applying it only to Legal Governments and Legal Methods, as a filly time-serving rebellious Distinction of Low-Church, Trimming Villains, who are not, and P. 21. by their Principles are oblig'd not to be, Chri-Jtians. And as he makes Sir J. Pa Hero for his Steddiness to High-Church P. 26. Principles, so to recommend him the more effectually, he supposes his Adversary will " allow that the Character he has, and de-" ferves in his Country, is, that he is an " Enemy to all Accommodations, Com-" prehensions, Moderation; and that he cc is

4 is High for the uninterrupted Succession. But if this be the Picture of a High-Churchman, his Principles will no more preserve us from a Popish Successor, than from Slavery: and this Author must be well acquainted with High-Church Principles, being cull'd out for this Performance as the Champion of his Party, and no fault found with this his admir'd piece, except that there was not Gall enough mixt with his Ink.

ism.

I never heard that the University, which decreed it Damnation to exclude the Decree, 83 next Heir, recanted that wicked Decree, tho it condemns all Self-defence, and is inconsistent with their Oaths to K. William and Q. Anne, as well as the Abjuration-Oath, and the Succession of the House of Hanover. Nay, does it not hang up still, or at least very lately did (not to mention other Houses) at the upper end of Ch-Ch --- Hall, not far from the Dean's Chair? which some say, if the Cuts of the Oxford Almanack had wanted explaining, wou'd have ferv'd for a Key, tho not I hope to unlock any of those Reasons which influenc'd the late lower House of Convocation in the Choice of a Prolocutor. And Epift. Ded. does not Dr. S-th fay, that Decree is fo justly

to Trithe- to the Credit of that University? If Mens Actions best bespeak their Minds, and it appears thereby that some think none so fit to represent 'em, as they who agreeably to this Decree appear'd most zealous against the Revolution-Principles, by opposing the Va-

cancy of the Throne, the Recognition, the Allo-

Affoc ill-na that cially the . late Book late 1 -Imper whof

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Affociation, the Abjuration; will not the Chap. 8. ill-natur'd World entertain some Suspicion that this Decree influences 'em still, especially when they see such things printed in the Epinicion Oxoniense, as resect on the late King's Title to the Crown? Was a Book with such Expressions relating to the late King, as Dubiique Tyranni \* instabile \* 'Tissaid Imperium, a sit Present for his Successor, the Epithet whose Right to the Crown is on the same at sirst was Foundation?

79. This Conduct will be apt, I fay, to make Men think that some as much adhere to this Doctrine, as they do to that of Perfecution; for which even while they endeavour to persuade the Dissenters they are for preferving the Toleration inviolable, they can't forbear to talk, preach, and write. Is there any Discourse S-1 has printed, which does not declare for it? Does not T in a Sermon preach'd before the University, say, That a Separation The 30th from our Church ought to be condemn'd and of Jan. punish'd? And whether it be Dissenters only 1704. or even some of the Bishops whom he wou'd have justify'd after the Scotish manner, the Reader may easily judg, as well as what Principles and what Oaths he means, when be supposes the Danger the Church is in to flow from our going off from our old Princi- Affize Ser. ples, and Shuffling with our Confeiences; our preach'd trifling with Oaths, and bringing down the before the High and Holy Name of God to our own Va- University nity, to secure our present little inconsiderable of Oxford, Interests. And are not these the Men who 1705. are chosen to do Honour to a certain UniUniversity on solemn occasions? And has not the Author who answer'd Mr. Lock's Letters of Toleration, thought sit lately to publish, after sourteen years silence, another Letter for laying Penaltys on the Dissenters? And indeed the pains the High-Church are at to find some slaw in the Act of Toleration, and the taking all opportunitys of prosecuting those they imagine have made the least slip in observing that Act, with the immoderate Hatred of all their Brethren who are for treating the Dissenters with Moderation, give shreud Suspicions that this absurd Doctrine is still their Favourite.

85. As the best things, if corrupted, become the worst; so the Universitys cannot have too great Encouragement, while they instruct the Youth in such Principles as are for the Good of All her Majesty's Subjects: but if they take a quite contrary Method, and teach such Doctrines as are for the Good of none of her Majesty's Subjects except themselves, nothing can be more to the prejudice of the Publick.

What can fave the Nation, if the Nobility and Gentry shou'd again be insected with the wicked Doctrines of Persecution, and of Kingly Power, taken in the most absolute sense, being of Divine Right; and that it can only be transmitted in a Descent in the Right Line; and when so transmitted, there can be no Abuse in its Exercise, for which the King can be accountable, or which the People ought not quietly

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ment a their fome it only most things Virtue

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england other I in this juster I cording tuted (and as 'em a the per and he govern Practice most p

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quietly to bear? And 'tis no Argument Chap. & fome Men have chang'd their Sentiments in acting after a different manner with a King who had no fuch Descent.

81. If Spite, Hatred, Malice, Resentment and Revenge so far got the better of their Principles, as then to appear fond of some Laws which limited the Prerogative; it only shews that those Passions which are most Diabolical in others, are the only things which have the least Resemblance of Virtue in a Tory.

If Men can act contrary to their known Principles, to gratify those predominant Passions of Malice and Revenge; what will they not say or do, when in pursuit of 'em they have a prospect of confounding all Whigs, and Whiggish Notions of Liberty? Any thing then is to be done, every thing to be hazarded, rather than these should prevail

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82. As it was to defend the Church of England against the Papists, Jacobites, and other High-sliers, that caus'd me to engage in this Controversy; so none can have a juster Esteem for all her Clergy, who, according to the Doctrine of the best-constituted Church, disown all Independency; and as for them who do not, I cannot do 'em a greater Kindness than to show 'em the pernicious Consequences of their Error, and how it necessarily makes all who are govern'd by it guilty of the most villanous Practices. A Method, which as 'tis the most proper in it self, so 'tis what all our Divines use, when they write against cer-

P. 130.

The Rights of the

tain Doctrines of the Church of Rome But I need not labour to justify my felf, fince none can censure me, who don't withal condemn the most Approv'd of our Clergy as well as Laity. However [ shall mention only two or three, and the first shall be that great Man my Lord Clarendon, who 'tis not doubted was the Person of Honour who writ Animadversions upon Cressy's Fanaticism fanatically imputed to the Catholick Church: He faith, " That "that unreasonable, inconvenient, and " mischievous Distinction of Ecclesiastical and Temporal, as it exempts Things and " Persons from the Civil Justice and the co Sovereign Authority, and as it erects a-" nother Tribunal, and fets up another " distinct Sovereign Jurisdiction Superior and Independent on the other, has con " the Christian World very dear in Tra-" fure and in Blood, and has almost heav'd the Government (which ought to pre-" ferve the Peace and Order of Christen-" dom) off its Hinges. That there are " Offences and Crimes of an Ecclesiastical " and Spiritual nature, according to the " Manner and Custom of speaking; and " Persons, who by their Functions to which they are assign'd properly fall under the " fame Distinctions; is very true and very reasonable: but that any such difference " in the Appellation shou'd create a Schilm in the Government; that the Civil Ju tice of the Kingdom shou'd not have the " full Cognizance of either and both, but that another Supreme and Sovereign Ju

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"rifdittion shou'd examine and determine Chap. 8." those things, and have the only Authority to regulate, reform and punish those Persons, is such a Solecism, such a Contradiction, indeed such a Dissolution of all the Principles and substantial Frame of Government, that there's not where with left to prevent the highest and most dismal Confusion that can be imagin'd.

83. The next Author I shall mention, is

83. The next Author I shall mention, is the Excellent Dr. Barrow, who affirms, of the "That supposing two Powers (Spiritual Pope's Sum and Temporal) to be Co-ordinate and premacy, Independent each of other, then must

"all Christians be put into that perplex'd "State of repugnant and incompatible "Obligations, concerning which our Lord faith, No man can serve two Masters, for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise

"the other. They will often draw several ways, and clash in their Designs, in their Laws, in their Decisions; one

"willing and commanding that which the other difliketh and prohibiteth: it will

" be impossible by any certain Bounds to
distinguish their Jurisdiction, so as to

" prevent Contest between them. All "Temporal Matters being in some respect

"Spiritual (as being referable to Spiritual "Ends, and in some manner ally'd to

"Religion) and all Spiritual Things becoming Temporal, as they conduce to

"the fecular Peace and Profperity of State, there is nothing which each of X "thefe

## The Rights of the

these Powers will not hook within the Werge of its Cognizance and Jurisdic-" tion; each will claim a Right to med. dle in all things; one pretending thereby to further the Good of the Church, the other to fecure the Interest of the State. And what End or Remedy can there be " of the Differences hence arising, there " being no third Power to arbitrate or mo-" derate between them? " Each will profecute its Caufe by its Advantages, the one by Instruments of " Temporal Power, the other by Spiritual Arms of Cenfures and Curfes. And in " what a case must the poor People then " be? How distracted in their Consciences, how divided in their Affections, " how discordant in their Practices, according as each Pretence has influence " upon them by its different Arguments " or peculiar Advantages? " How can any Man fatisfy himself in or performing or refusing Obedience to either? How many (by the Intricacy " of the Point, and contrary pulling) will " be withdrawn from yielding due Comof pliance on the one hand or the other? What shall a Man do, while one, in " a Case of Disobedience to his Com-" mands, doth brandish a Sword, the " other thunders out a Curse against him; one threatneth Death, the other Exci-" fion from the Church, both denounce " Damnation? What Animositys and " Contentions, what Discomposures and

confusions must this Constitution of

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"It is indeed impossible that a Co-ordi-" nation of these Powers shou'd subsist; " for each will be continually encroaching " on the other, each for its own Defence " and Support will be continually ftrug-" gling and clambering to get above the " other; there will be never any Quiet till " one comes to fublide and truckle under " the other, whereby the Sovereignty of " the one or other will be destroy'd; each " of them will foon come to claim a Su-" premacy in all Causes, and the Power of " both Swords; and one Side will carry " it. It is indeed necessary that, Men for " a time continuing possess'd with a Re-" verence to the Ecclesiastical Authority " as Independent and Incontroulable, it " shou'd at last overthrow the Temporal, "by reason of its great Advantages a-

" bove it. For,

"The Spiritual Power doth pretend an " Establishment purely Divine, which can-" not by any Accidents undergo any

"Change, Diminutions, or Translations, " to which Temporal Dominions are sub-

" ject: Its Power therefore being perpetual, " irreversible, depending immediately on

"God, can hardly be check'd, can never be " conquer'd.

"It fights with Tongues and Pens, " which are the most perillous Weapons.

"It can never be disarm'd, fighting " with Weapons that cannot be taken X 2

## The Rights of the

away, or depriv'd of their Edge and Vi-« gour.

"It works by most powerful Conside-" rations upon the Consciences and Affec-"tions of Men upon pain of Damnation,

or promising Heaven and threatning Hell;

which upon some Men have an infinite " Sway, upon all Men a confiderable In-

" fluence, and thereby will be too hard

" for those who only can grant Temporal Rewards, or inflict Temporal Punish-

ments. It hath continual Opportunitys of conversing with Men, and thereby

can infinuate and suggest the Obligation

" to obey it with greatest Advantage, in " Secrecy, in the tenderest Seasons.

" It claimeth a Power to have its In-" structions admitted with Assent; and

will it not instruct them for its own

" advantage? All its Affertions must be believ'd; is not this an infinite Advan-

cc tage?

" By fuch Advantages the Spiritual " Power (if admitted for such as it pre-

" tendeth) will swallow and devour the Temporal, which will be an extreme

" Mischief to the World.

84. Foreign Divines have not scrupled to own that this Doctrine of two Independent Powers is Antichristian, and the Spawn of Popery: the judicious Gomanu In Com- for instance saith, " That the Papists acmonit. P. " knowledg two Supreme Powers, one not

" fubject to the other; but the true " Preachers of the Divine Word account c it as a Mark of Antichrist, who exalts

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"himself above all that is call'd God. Chap. 8. And the famous Gualterus makes the af-Hom. 24. ferting two fuch Powers to flow from Po- in 1 Cor. 5. pery. And with them do our Divines agree, when they undertake the Defence of the Regal Supremacy: then either with the Bishop of Sarum they affirm, " That all Expos. Art. " Mankind must be under one Obedience 37. " and one Authority; or elfe they fay, as Dr. Scot does, "That before the coming christian " of Christ the Authority of Princes was Life, vol. " bounded by no Law but that of Na-2. 5.7. " ture; and that the Christian Religion is " fo far from retrenching their Power, " that it abundantly ratifies and confirms And 'tis to the Law of Nature that Mr. Hooker refers us, in supposing " That Eccles. Pol. " what Power foever Kings and States had Book 8. " in Religious Matters before the coming " of Christ, they are fully authoriz'd by " the Gospel to exercise the same in all " Affairs pertinent to the State of the " true Christian Religion. Now by the Law of Nature there were not two Independent Powers in the same Society to limit one another; and whenever the Magistrate did exceed the Bounds of his Authority, 'twas not by invading the Right of any Ecclesiastical Magistrate, who had an Independent Power from Heaven, but by usurping on those Natural Rights of the People, which they cou'd not make over to any one, whether King or Priest: and what those Rights are, has been shown in

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the Introduction.

85. Shou'd

## The Rights of the

85. Shou'd the Clergy condemn me for afferting those very Doctrines they themselves maintain against the Papists, they wou'd give the World too just ground to conclude that 'tis only for being consistent with my felf, in not approving in any Church, what they as well as I condemn in the Papists; in whom (considering the many Engagements we lie under to renounce any such Doctrine) the Fault is not quite

so unpardonable.

And indeed none is qualify'd to believe two Independent Powers, who has not Faith enough for Transubstantiation; since it necessarily, as has been already shown, supposes a Body may be in several places at once, and about different Actions at the same time; and all Mankind, who have allow'd that the Body Politick con'd not move different ways at the same time, have own'd that the Supreme Power was indivisible: and therefore I shall only quote one Authority more, that of a Papist, and no less a Man than Father Paul of Venice, to shame, if possible, those Protestants who maintain two Independent Powers: he says, "This

Letters, two Independent Powers: he fays, "This Engl. Tran-" Opinion makes a Monster of Governflat. Lett. "ment; and that the Absurdity will not

123.

be declin'd in faying they are co-ordinate and link'd together by mutual

Helps, as fo many Bonds; fo that the Primate has power over the King in

Censures, and the King over him in Punishment. For what if the King and

Primate shou'd both take the same to themselves, wou'd not the Common-

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" wealth be disturb'd at this? As for in-Chap. 8. " stance in the Venetian Controversy: The "King faith that Churchmen have too " much Lands already, and that 'tis not " for the Good of the Commonwealth " that they get any more. The Primate " by his Cenfures will have the King revoke " this Edict: What if the King shou'd " take from the Primate his Life and " Estate? Thus you see the monstrous " Form of fuch a Commonwealth. So that " those Powers cannot be link'd together " by any Bonds or Ties, unless one of the " two be wholly and in all things subject to " the other.

\* For divide the Offices of the Com-" monwealth into a thousand Parts, and " give the King nine hundred of them; " and yet make the King inferior to the " Primate in the odd hundred; and with " that last tenth Part he will be able to " trample on the King, and get into his

" hands all the other nine.

X 4 CHAP.

wealth be differed at this As for a rether. S.

## CHAP. IX.

That this Hypothesis of none being capable of Governing the Church except Bishops, and that none can be Bishops except those who derive their Power by a continu'd and uninterrupted Succession in the Catholick Church from the Apostles, destroys the very Being of the Church.

Primare in the odd handrod; and with 1. THE Divine Wisdom never acts I vainly or unnecessarily, nor interpofes miraculously, unless where the ordinary Means are not fufficient. And therefore he who pretends to prove that all things relating to Ecclesiastical Polity are not left to Mankind to determine as they think fit, ought likewise to prove that when they were depriv'd of this Power (which they enjoy'd for above four thoufand years together, God not miraculoully interposing even among the Jews till they had chose him for their King) they became less capable of managing it than before; for which reason they were for ever to be depriv'd of their Rights, and Church-Government

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ment in the execution there is there is they we fuch as Interest and has abuse in being in People ment it to redi

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vernment was to be independently and Chap. 9.
unalterably plac'd in a few Ecclesiafticks, and by them to be continu'd in an
uninterrupted Succession to the End of the
World. He, I fay, who intends to prove
this, is oblig'd not only to answer the
Absurditys which in general attend this
Hypothesis, but those in particular also
which follow from his applying it to this or
that Set of Ecclesiasticks, with whom he
supposes the Government of the Church to
be by God intrusted. And,

2. Because it is the prevailing Opinion, that Bishops are by Divine Appointment Governors of the Christian Church, and that no one is capable of being of that number who derives not his Right by an uninterrupted Succession of Bishops in the Catholick Church, I will now show some of the numerous Absurditys of this Hypothe-

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3. First, as to the Form of Government it self: If the making of Laws and the executing of 'em (without both which there can be no Government) be in the hands of the fame Persons, the Bishops, they will lie under a Temptation to make fuch as more regard their own separate Interest than the Good of the Church; and having the Executive Power, they may abuse it without the least Controul, there being no Appeal from them, nor can the People (which cannot happen in a Government founded by them) have any Right to redress themselves. This being a Government fo Tyrannical in its Frame and ConConstitution, can we suppose the Divine Goodness wou'd miraculously interfere to impose it on the Church for ever? The thing it felf, without any other Proof, is a fufficient Demonstration of its being a

Contrivance of the Ecclefiasticks.

4. By this Hypothesis of the Bishons being Governors of the Church by Divine Right, no Religious Society which has not Episcopal Government, tho in all things else they enjoy Christianity in the greatest Purity, can be a Christian Church; fince That no more than any other Society can fubfift without Government, of which, if Bishops only are capable, all that the Reform'd who want 'em have got by their Separation from the Church of Rome, is to Unchurch themselves, by throwing off a Government which is effential to the Church of Christ; Bishops only having a Power to authorize Men to preach, adminifter the Sacraments, or perform any other Ecclesiastical Office. And therefore ever fince this Notion has prevail'd, we constantly re-ordain those who come over to us from all Churches which want Epifcopacy; whilst we religiously abstain from doing the same to those who leave the Romish Communion, as having already Hands laid on 'em by Bishops. So that it feems we esteem the Want of That alone more destructive to the Being of a Christian Church, than all the immoral, impious, and idolatrous Tenets of the Romanifs: and therefore, if we act agreeably to this Notion, we are as much oblig'd to prefer

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nrefer their Interest before all Protestant Chap. 9. Churches which want Episcopacy, as we are a Christian before a No-Christian Church. And.

s. That there are too many acting agreeably to this Principle, is so apparent as not to be deny'd; and who have not scrupled to own they have more favourable Thoughts of the Papists, whom they reverence as a true Church, than of the Protestant Dissenters, whom they reckon no other than (the vilest thing in their

eyes) a mere Lay-Mob.

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6. How much this Hypothesis weakens the Protestant Cause, and what Advantage it gives to the common Enemy, cannot well be imagin'd, without confidering the daily Increase and growing Interest of Popery; which the nothing except the late happy Revolution hinder'd from being the Establish'd Religion, not only of these Kingdoms, but of all Europe, yet those who are for Episcopacy being Jure Divino, if they act confishently with their Principles, can have no favourable Thoughts of it, fince it was the occasion by which People in England are permitted to join with those Sectarys, who for want of Bishops cannot pretend to the Name of a Church, and whereby in Scotland the true Church by the Abolition of Episcopacy has been destroy'd. And therefore 'twou'd be no wonder if the Highfliers here rail at the Revolution, and the Epifcopals there have fo much Charity for hat unchurch'd Nation, as to endeavour

re-uniting 'em to the true Church, tho it be by returning to Rome; and for that reafon be intirely in the Interest of the St. Germains Family, as the only Means to bring it about. How well Men of these Sentiments are qualify'd to join with the Dutch and the rest of our Presbyterian Allies, against Popery accompany'd with E-

piscopacy, let the Reader judg.

People, I shou'd desire 'em not to act like the Executioners of the three Children, in venturing to burn themselves, that they might be sure to throw others far enough into the Fire; and that they wou'd no more attack the Dissenters on such Principles as unchurch all who departed from Rome, those who have, as well as those

who have not Bishops.

In order to prove this the Confequence of their Principles, I here demand, If the Church of Christ be (as they affirm) but One, and that those who refuse Communion with it, cut themselves off from it; Whether the Romish Bishops were at the time of the Reformation Bishops of this Church or If they were, the Protestants by separating from 'em, and setting up 1 Communion in opposition to 'em, became Schismaticks, and thereby cut themselves off from this One Church; fince two opposite Communions, as the Clergy on all fides hold, can't be both Members of the fame Church: and if one is a Member of the true Church, the other can't be fo too; and a false Church is no Church, at least of testant Church Headsh dy, and destroy rity the any Pa cease to

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least of Christ; and consequently the Pro-Chap. 9. testant Bishops can't be Governors in the Church of Christ, because Ecclesiastical Headship supposes a Union with the Body, and they who break that Union must destroy any Headship, Power, or Authority they had before over the Body, or any Part of it, fince by their Schism they cease to belong to the Body.

On the contrary, if the Romish Church at any time before the Reformation ceas'd to be a true Church, they ceas'd to have a Right to those Privileges belonging to it, of which the receiving and conveying Spiritual Power or Government is on all fides allow'd to be one; and confequently they were uncapable of stowing any on the Protestant Bishops.

8. What can be more abfurd than to suppose that a Man may be united to Christ, by being in Union with such Bishops as are cut off from Christ; or that those Bishops have a Right to govern the Church, who have no Right to the Church or any of its Privileges? For how can there be a Power to ordain, or administer the Sacraments, where there's no Ministry nor Sacraments? Or how can they who are themselves excluded the Church, admit People into or turn 'em out of the Church? As they cannot Bind, so they cannot Loose; and as they destroy the Unity of the Spirit, so they can have no Right to the disposing of the Holy Ghoft red fo slandledanolecanU BAT on, are bound to separate from b

The Consequence of which Premises is, that if the Protestants by separating from the Church of Rome were guilty of Schism, they can have amongst 'em none of that Spiritual Power or Government which is deriv'd from the Apostles by way of Succession in the Catholick Church.

On the contrary, if the Papists were Schismaticks, there cou'd be no Medium for Apostolical Succession, as not being capable of receiving or conveying those Spiritual Powers which the Clergy on all sides suppose necessary to the Existence of a true Church; and which can be no otherwise obtain'd than by an uninterrupted Succession from the Apostles in the truly Apostolick and Catholick Church.

9. So that there never was fo unlucky an Hypothesis: for whether you allow the Papists to be, or not to be a true Church, it must hinder the Protestants from being to; for if they were no true Church, they cou'd not convey to others that Spiritual Power which is necessary to the Being of a true Church; or if they were, the Protestant Bishops, with those who adher'd to 'em, cou'd not be fuch a Church, as being guilty of an unnecessary Separation. But if the Separation was necessary, then the Church of Rome cou'd not be a true Church, for that certainly cannot be fuch a Church if it be not lawful to join with her; and Men, as they become convinc'd of the Unreasonableness of her Terms of Communion, are bound to separate from her, before

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10. To me 'tis very strange, that those who have fubfcrib'd the Articles of our Church, shou'd allow the Papists to be a part of the visible Church of Christ, which by the 20th Article is defin'd to be A Congregation of Faithful Men, in which the pure Word of God is preach'd, and the Sacraments duly administer'd according to Christ's Ordinance, in all that of necessity are requisite to the same. Can our Churchmen apply this Definition to the Papists, when they affirm that among them the Word of God is fo far from being preach'd pure, that 'tis mix'd with a prodigious number of abford Traditions? Or can our Church. which affirms the Wine to be an essential Part of the Lord's Supper, say that that Sacrament is duly administer'd in the Romish Church, according to Christ's Ordinance, in all things which of necessity are requisite to the same, when the Cup is allow'd only to the Priest? Or,

only obliges all her Members to maintain a Blasphemous Fable (as all who have subscribed the thirty first Article must own their Doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass to be) but is likewise guilty of Idolary, since that Article affirms, that the Homilys, which charge her upon a great many accounts with it, contain a godly and wholesom Doctrine? Which, were not the Charge true, wou'd be so far from

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containing fuch a Doctrine, that they would be full of an unjust Censure of so great Body of Christians view sit om al .o.

> 12. At the Reformation our Divines every where charg'd the Pope with being Antichrift, and made Rome the Spiritual Babylon; and with fuch clear Proofs as converted more than any one Topick whatever. They did not scruple then to charge her with Idolatry, and other monstrous Crimes, lest by proving her one Church they cou'd not make out their own Title to the True Church. They did not believe, like Mr. Thorndike (the Oracle of High-Church) that they were guilty of Schism, who separated from the Church of Rome as an idolatrous Church; nor did they refuse to license the Books the Disfenters wrote against Rome, because they charg'd her with fuch Sentiments as prove her to be no Church, and then rail at 'em for not writing against Popery.

God, or Tyranny over Men; if defacing the Ideas of the Deity, if corrupting the Principles of Virtue and moral Honesty; if subverting the Foundations of natural Religion, or overthrowing the essential Articles of the Christian Faith; if the most avow'd or bold Affronts offer'd to Heaven, and the bloodiest and most brutal Outrages executed on the best of Men: If all thefe, I fay, are fusficient to ex-

13. In a word, if Blasphemy against

Catholick and Apostolick Church, the Romanifes can have no pretence to it. And,

clude Men from being a Part of the truly

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ness to an Hypothesis, can make any suppose that the Church of Rome, notwithstanding her gross and notorious Idolatry, and her other Doctrines so derogatory to the Merits of our Saviour, and so destructive of a good Life, so opposite to the Happiness of Human Societys, and so inconsistent with the Dutys we owe both to God and Man, is a True Church: and her claiming the Name of Christian, while she acts so Unchristianly, must needs heighten her Guilt, and make her appear the more Antichristian.

Grace pretend to be a true Church: for they do not so abominably corrupt the Old and New Testament, by adding the Sentiments of Mahomet, as the others by their Oral Traditions, and the Decrees of their Infallible Church; which maintains, besides whatever is ridiculous in other Religions, peculiar Absurditys more gross than were ever known among the most Barbarous of Mankind.

with any thing tending to Idolatry, as the Papists justly are with the foulest; nor do those allow of any such Doctrine as not keeping Faith with Hereticks; nor does the Musti, like the Pope, pretend to absolve People from their Oaths; nor do the Followers of Mahomet persecute like the Papists, who think it meritorious to murder all who differ from 'em, which renders a Religion more pernicious than Atheism it

felf: nor are those so uncharitable as to Alchoran damn all Dissenters, but acknowledg that Azoara 2. all, whether Jews or Christians, &c. who adore God and do Good, shall undoubtedly obtain the Love of God.

17. In fhort, those who allow the Church of Rome to be a true Church, do it for no other reason, than because by their Hypothesis of Ecclesiastical Government they find it necessary for the Support of their own. But certainly the less the Papists appear to be a true Church, the greater ground there is to account those who oppose her Corruptions to be so; and that 'tis a most sensless Hypothesis, which cannot allow them who justly separate from a Church, to be a true Church, except that which they separated from is so likewise.

18. It must be no small Diversion to the Papists, to fee their Adversarys labour to do their business, by striving to prove 'em a true Church, as a thing absolutely necessary to make their own so; while without any respect to this kind Usage they treat our Church, as she does the Dissenters, like a mere Lay-Mob. And these are the Notions which cause the Papists to flatter themselves, that those Persons can have no great Aversion for their Church, who own it to be a true Church of Christ, even tho they deny any Heretical or Schifmatical Church to be fo: and then they think 'tis easy to judg who were the Schifmaticks at the Separation. And they do not despair that the Sticklers for these Notions

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Notions may be brought some time or Chap. of other to act agreeably to their own Principles, and that they will at some critical Juncture, when there's no great hazard in it, reunite themselves to that True Church from whence their Ancestors separated upon Principles which will not pass muster now. And as the Destruction of the National Church, let it be Episcopal or Presbyterian, by reason of her Numbers, Power and Riches, is the chief Aim of the Papists; so were they to form Principles for her in order to proselyte her, they cou'd not contrive better: and 'tis too evident in fact, that as these have increas'd, the Danger of Popery has increas'd with them.

19. Tho we suppose the Church of Rome a true Church, and that our Church by separating from her is not guilty of Schism; and confequently that two opposite Communions may be both Members of the true Catholick Church: yet did not those Bishops who renounc'd her Communion, thereby quit all the Ecclefiastical Power and Jurisdiction they got by being in that Church? In any other Body Politick, a Man by leaving it loses all the Powers he had by being of it, and there's no reason why 'tis not the same in an Ecclesiastical Society; and consequently all the Church-Powers the Protestant Bishops cou'd have, must be deriv'd from the Members of the new Church they then join'd themselves with. But,

20. If

20. If a Bishop by leaving the Church of Rome did not by that Act lose all the Episcopal Power he had when he was one of the Governors of that Church, especially considering no Commission can well be extended to authorize the opposing him who bestow'd it, yet the Popish Bishops had as much Power to deprive or degrade him, as to ordain him: since a Sentence is valid, tho not right, when done by a competent Authority; and consequently the Popish Bishops in the time of Queen Mary or Queen Elizabeth had as much Right to unmake, as they had to make a Bishop in their Father's or Grandsather's time.

This, tho no more were faid, plainly shows that the Hypothesis of Ecclesiastical Government belonging to such Bishops only, as derive their Power by way of Succession from Catholick and Apostolick Predecessors, unchurches not only all the Reform'd who are without Bishops, but all the Epif-

copalians likewise.

ment with relation to the Church of England, to shew that her Bishops have no Power

by way of Succession. For,

The Popish Bishops in Queen Elizabeth's Reign either had or had not any Spiritual Power deriv'd by way of Succession from the Apostles: If they had not, the Protestant Bishops cannot pretend to receive any such Power from 'em; if they had, no Lay Powers cou'd deprive 'em of what belong'd to 'em by a Divine Right, and consequently they retain'd their Spiritualitys.

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tys. So that all which these who were put Chap. o. into their Places cou'd posses, were their Temporalitys only; and they cou'd bestow no more on their Successors than they had themselves. But,

these Principles to maintain the Validity of the Deprivation of the Popish Bishops by Queen Elizabeth, I shall now examine his

Reasons.

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"The first is, that the Popish Bishops Dostrine of taking out Commissions from H. 8. for the Ch. of their Spiritual Power, was a sufficient concerning Reason for the Validity of the Queen's the IndeDeprivation; because in taking out these pendency of Commissions, they might in Law be sup-the Clergy,

"Commissions, they might in Law be sup-the Clergy, pos'd to renounce the better Title they &c. §.28.

" had from Christ and his Apostles; since

"there cannot be two Originals of the fame Power, and therefore the taking

" one from the Magistrate must be renoun-

" cing any other.

If this in the Popish Bishops was a renouncing their better Title; the Protestant Bishops renounc'd theirs too, since they, as he owns, did the same. And 'tis notorious, that they not only took out the same in H. 8's time, but renew'd them upon his Son's coming to the Crown, as necessary to enable 'em to exercise their Episcopal Authority; and consequently this is a farther Proof that the Bishops have no Divine Power.

23. His next Argument is, "That the §. 29.
Deprivation of the Popish Bishops was

only of their Temporalitys; their Sees,

as to their Spiritualitys, being before vacant; the Protestants owing 'em no Duty even in Conscience before Depriva-

66 tion.

If those Bishops were not Bishops of the Protestants before their Deprivation, then they had no Bishops, and consequently by his own Principles no Priefts, no Sacraments, no Christian Church; and if they were not obliging in Conscience before Deprivation, it was because the People judging 'em guilty of gross Errors, had by renouncing all Communion with 'em withdrawn their Obedience from 'em, and depriv'd 'em of all the Spiritual Jurisdiction they had over 'em: which, contrary to the whole Drift and Design of his Book, proves that the Bishop's Power is deriv'd from and dependent on the People; and what they cou'd do thus themselves by a tacit Agreement, they might authorize the Queen to do folemnly and formally; or rather the People having, by renouncing their Communion, depriv'd 'em of all the Spiritual Power and Authority they cou'd pretend to over 'em, the Queen took from 'em all those legal Powers and Privileges the Law had invested 'em with.

5. 31.

24. His third Argument is, "That tho the Popish Bishops upon the account of the Invalidity of their Lay-Deprivation, still retain'd a Right in Conscience over the Protestants; yet the Duty to em ceas'd with their Lives, and became due to their Protestant Successors, tho it was in their power to have perpetuated the In-

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"Invalidity of our Succession, by keeping Chap. 9.
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he |First, That the Protestants who separated from the Church of Rome, by so doing were guilty of Schism, and continu'd so during the Lives of the Popish Bishops.

Secondly, That if the Popish Bishops, notwithstanding their Errors, retain'd a Right in Conscience to the Obedience of the Protestants; then there are no Errors which can justify a Reformation in any Nation, when they cannot do it without disowning

their erroneous Bishops.

Thirdly, That the very Being of our Church subsists by a mere Accident, the Neglect of the Papists in continuing the Succession of their own Bishops down to our Times: tho some say the matter of Fact is otherwise; and that they have, at least in Ireland, most religiously kept up the Succession; and consequently, the Popish Bishops there have still a Right to oblige the Consciences of Men of these Principles.

Fourthly, Whether the Papists have or have not done this, the English Church by his own Reasoning must be without Bishops, because they who are ordain'd to Sees already full, are, as he asserts in at least forty places, no Bishops; and their

Confecrations null and void: And "it Vindicat. of "was, as he faith, a Principle universally the Defence received in the Catholick Church, as an of the Detient as the Practice of two pretending floops, \$.17.

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" to the same Bishoprick, that the Secundus was always look'd on as Nullus co foras alienus, so far from being a Bishop of the Church, that the Attempt divided him from it. And this, he faith, is as evident from Reason as from Authority, because no Man can convey. the fame thing twice; and therefore in all Monarchical Districts, none can " fuppose an Antimonarch's Title good " till he has shown the first Monarch's Title is not fo. And confequently, the Attempt to make Protestants Bishops of those Sees which were full of others, must be null and void: and if they were not Bishops of those Places to which they were ordain'd, they were Bishops of no others, and therefore no Bishops at all; since none, as he owns, can be a Bishop of the Catholick Church, otherwise than by being Bishop of some particular District. Nor cou'd the Death of the Popish Bishops make those who were not so much as Members of the Catholick Church, to become Bishops of it. Had he suppos'd 'em true Bishops, and only hinder'd from exercifing their Power as long as the Popish Bishops liv'd, their Death wou'd have let 'em into a full Exercise of their Episcopal Authority: and if their Confecrations were from the beginning null, the Death of the Popish Bishops cou'd no more make 'em become Bishops, than they had no Confecration, there's no difference between that and

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a Confecration which has no effect: nor Chap. 9. cou'd they who were no Bishops them-felves, make others so; and confequently the Church of England, by our Author's own Reasoning, has been ever since Queen Elizabeth's Time without Bishops, if they are not to be reckon'd such who have no other Right to their Power, than what they derive from Human Autho-

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25. The Excuse given for the Highfliers carefling the profess'd Enemys of Church and State, the Nonjurors, while they shew such Bitterness to those who diffent only on a Church-account, is, that the Church-Schism will be heal'd by the Death of the Nonjuring Bishops, and that then they will all come into the Church. But this Reason, as poor as it is, will not hold, fince the two Defences of the Depriv'd Bishops, which contain the Reasons of their Separation, and which they are not a little proud of, upon all occasions referring to 'em, make the present Church of England guilty of the greatest Herefy, as striking at what is fundamental in the highest degree, as being fundamental to other Fundamentals, the Succession of Bishops, without which the Church can't subsist. And on this Head tragical Declamations are made of the great Danger the Church is in; for which there cou'd not be the least ground, were the present Possessions of the Sees suppos'd to be true Bishops, and consequently capable of continuing the Succession. So that shou'd the

the depriv'd Bishops die without Consecrating others, the Nonjurors wou'd by these Principles be as far from owning the present Church as State.

If some Men wou'd speak out, they might upon these Principles better excuse their Treatment of the present Bishops than any yet they have offer'd, because they who are plac'd in the Sees of the Bishops depriv'd by Parliament, can only plead a

Human Right. For,

If the Spiritual Relation their Predecelfors had to their feveral Districts was deriv'd from God, no Human Powers cou'd dissolve it; and the same regard must be had to their Authority after as before a Lay-Deprivation: therefore one wou'd think those who undertook to justify the present Bishops, wou'd not, unless they had a mind to betray the Cause they pretended to defend, assert an Independent Power in the Bishops.

26. But the most Learned Doctor, who fignaliz'd himself in this Controvers, loth to deny the Bishops such a Power, and as unwilling to own himself and the rest of the Clergy Schismaticks, took a middle way to justify them, by bringing a number of Precedents, where the Clergy and the People deserted the Communion of Bishops depriv'd by Lay-Powers, and adher'd to others put in their Places: which must show, that either they thought the Bishops had no Independent Power, or that they acted contrary to their own Consciences. And of what Authority are mens

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mens Practices, when they contradict their Chap. 9.

27. To yield that Lay-Deprivations are mjust and invalid, and at the same time o argue for our Compliance with 'em. rives the Author of the Regale, and the ther Enemys of the Church of England, 00 great cause to insult and triumph. and cry up their Champions of the Depriv'd Bishops, as if they had unanswerably pin'd down Schism on the Church. and they are not fo much in the wrong. f nothing else cou'd be faid to justify the Church, besides what this, and another s Learned Author, the Writer of two mall Pamphlets to clear the Church from he Guilt of Schism and Heresy (the only ersons who have expresly undertaken her Defence) have urg'd in her behalf against hose numerous Pamphlets which upon hese common Principles have charg'd her ome.

This last Author, as much as the other, owns the Power of the Bishops to be Jure Divino; and as a Consequence of that, will not allow the Magistrate to deprive 'em of my of their Spiritual Rights: yet to justify the Church for renouncing 'em upon a Lay-Deprivation, he makes a Bishoprick to be a Temporal thing; and that as such the Magistrate, he owns, can lawfully deprive him of it; yet his Spiritualitys are untouch'd, and he remains, just as he was before, a Bishop of the Catholick Church. But,

28. Nothing can be more fenfless, than the Notion of a Bishop without a Bishoprick; because that carrys Spiritual Power and Jurisdiction with it, which fupposes Obedience and Subjection. They therefore who owe this to any Bishop are his Subjects, and within his Bishoprick: fo that a Bishop and a Bishoprick, District, or Diocess, are Relatives; and as tis impossible there can be a Bishop with out a Bishoprick, so 'tis as impossible two can have the same, or a Right to the same And if one Bishop's District was as large as the whole Church, there cou'd be only one Bishop, and the whole Church his Diocess; and consequently, to suppose each to be Bishop, not of a Part only, but of the whole Catholick Church, is to make as many Contradictions, fave one, as Bishops

29. 'Tis worse to suppose that those who have no Bishopricks, as being lawfully depriv'd of 'em, are still Bishops, and each of 'em a Bishop of the Catholica which is as abfurd as to lay that there may be Kings without any King doms, or a Right to any; yet each is King of the whole World, and can make as many fuch Kings as he pleases; there being nothing by this Hypothesis to his der the depriv'd Bishops from making every Man in the Nation as good a Billion to all intents and purposes as any of them selves. Men durst not vent such Abiur ditys, when they talk of Civil Govern ment; but Nonsense seems facred, when apply

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30. Had this Author confider'd, that uness every Bishop's Power was limited to a articular Diffrict, nothing besides Conusion and Disorder must happen, the Peole not knowing whom to obey, on account f the Multiplicity and Contrariety of orders; he wou'd consequently have made oth fure Divino, or both Jure Humano: nd if a District be only Human, the light a Bishop has to it can't be Divine; utboth the Relatives, which can't subsist ithout caeh other, must have the same O-

igin. And, This Author certainly was not in the rong, in supposing Districts to be only Human Right; except he cou'd have und out the particular Bishops who had Divine Authority to divide the Christian Vorld into Parishes, Districts, Provinces, c. But if every Nation can appoint the lumber of its own Districts, and dimi-In and enlarge 'em as they please, 'tis ain all the Power the Bishops have is dev'd from the People; fince they cannot lly appoint what Number they think , and enlarge or diminish a Bishop's ower with his District, but by consoliting or turning two Districts into one ey wholly deprive one Bishop of his wer, and bestow it on another: and en he can't pretend to do any Epif-

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copal Act there, without usurping upon his Right to whom the District is given.

of an Independent Power, betray the Church instead of defending it; and therefore the Clergy, as one in reason ought to suppose shou'd pardon a Layman who clears the Church from so heavy a Charge as Schiff and Heresy, tho he does it upon Principle inconsistent with their Independency. You shou'd they not forgive my attempting the prove them neither Hereticks or Schismaticks, I hope the Laity will not take it amist that upon solid and rational Principles, and so much to their Advantage, I vindicate in from any such Guilt, as well as justify the Reformation in all its Steps, which the contract National Research Nationa

trary Notions can never do.

32. If the Bishops in England since the Reformation (and the Reasons equal hold for the Protestant Bishops abroa tho they had been confecrated by Bishop can claim no Power deriv'd by Succession from the Apostles, the Presbyterians ( twere granted this Power might be of vey'd by Presbyters as well as Bishop can have no Right at all to it, becau they don't pretend the Ordinations of t Romish Church are valid; and therefor when any of their Priests come over 'em, they have Hands laid on 'em and before they will permit 'em to exerci the Ministerial Office, reckoning all do before null and void, as done by an lo latrous Antichristian Church, which is capable of conveying any Spiritual Power

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flou'd censure the Anabaptists and Independents for having Lay-Ministers, or such as have no Right to their Office, except what they derive from their Congregations.

33. At the famous Conference at Poissy Thuan. between the Papists and Protestants, when 2, 1, 28. want of a Call and Authority was objec-p. 45. ted to the Reform'd Ministers, Beza declares, " That to a Legitimate Call, Impo-" fition of Hands was not necessary; but " that the chief and fubstantial Tokens " thereof were a good Life, found Doctrine, " and Election (meaning of the People) " nor was it to be wonder'd at, if they " had not receiv'd Imposition of Hands " from them, whose corrupt Life, Super-" stition, and false Doctrine they were to " reprove. Or how cou'd it be expected " they shou'd ever be allow'd of by them, " who were Enemys to the Truth they de-" fended? And after the same manner does the excellent Monsieur Claude and other Hugonot Divines write. Nay, none can be ignorant, who has read any thing of the Reformation abroad, that the Ministry was generally chosen out of the Laicks, the Noblemen not disdaining to devote their Gifts to that Service, as the Prince of Hainault, Duplessis, Sadeel, aud others. were fo far from pretending to any Power by virtue of an uninterrupted Succession, hat they maintain'd, wherever the true faith and Doctrine were, there was the rue Church; which could not be, except he Ministry depended on the Church or

faithful People, and not the Church on De Vocat. them. And Anthony Sadeel shows by very Ministant weighty Reasons, that personal Succession Op. Fol. is so far from being necessary, that it is P.541. C.2. no ways probable it is requisite; and he proves the Popish Ordinations to be null, and their pretended Succession to be inter-

rupted.

34. The Reform'd Clergy had no Notion that the Ministers of Christ must receive their Power and Authority from Antichrist; or that his Holy Church cou'd not subsist otherwise than by virtue of a Power deriv'd from the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, who has been so frequently drunk with the Blood of the Saints. They thought that owning a Character to be given them by the Beaft, who pretended to give an indelible one, was too much like receiving his Mark: and therefore that great Apostle Luther, proud of being degraded by the Romin Church, absolutely disavows and disclaims all Popish Ordinations; and in his Treatise of the Ministry declares one ought to fuffer any thing rather than be ordain'd As these were the Notions by Papists. which prevail'd at the Reformation, fo 'tis impossible that without 'em any Separation can be made from a corrupt Church, which might reduce any Ecclefiastick, who shou'd pretend to innovate, to that Lay State they took him from at first. And do not fee how this can be deny'd 'em, find no greater Power is requir'd for one than t'other.

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35. The Church of England was fo far Chap. 9? from thinking a Succession of Bishops neceffary to her Being, that the did not believe Episcopacy to be of Divine Appointment : for the Book intitled, The Institution of a Christian Man, subscrib'd by the Clergy in Convocation, and confirm'd by Parliament, owns Bishops and Presbyters by Scripture to be the same; and yet the Nation thought themselves at liberty to have an Order superior to that of Presbyters: a sufficient Acknowledgment that they thought no Form of Government fix'd by Christ. And what the Sense of our Church was in 1610, is plain from Archbishop Bancroft's and the ABpSpots rest of the Bishops owning the Ordination wood's of Presbyters to be valid, and therefore Hift.p.514. refuling to re-ordain the Scotish Presbyters who were then to be made Bishops; declaring withal, that to doubt it was to doubt whether there was any lawful Vocation in most of the Reform'd Churches. And even till after the Restoration this Notion generally obtain'd, it being declar'd 12 Car. 2. That every Ecclesiastical Person or Minister being ordain'd by any Ecclesiastical Persons before the 21st of December last, was to enjoy his Benefice, if he came into a vacant one: which 'tis to be presum'd wou'd never have been allow'd, if Ordination by Bishops had been thought neceslary. And even at this day Presbyters with us not only exercise all manner of Episcopal Jurisdiction, but have equally with the Bishops a necessary Vote in the Supreme

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Supreme Acts of Church-Government, the making of Ecclefiaftical Laws. And before the Act of Uniformity there was nothing I know of to hinder Persons ordain'd by Presbyters from being capable of Church-Preferments; Travers, Master of the Temple, having no other: and Bishop Morton fent one Calendrini, who was unknown to him, to the Ministers of the Walloon Church in London for Ordination; who being met in a Colloque or Synod, did ordain him, and he had a Brothership of the Savoy confer'd on him as a Minister of the Church of England; the Account of which may be feen at large in the Records of the Walloon And this ought not Church in London. to be thought strange, since the Papists at this day allow the Ordinations of Abbots Sovereign, who are only Presbyters, tobe valid and regular: and the famous Alexandrian Church for the first 235 years had no Bishops, but who had Hands laid on Jerom. ad them by Presbyters only. And 'tis very probable that those Bishops who converted fo many of our Northern Parts to Christianity, were ordain'd by the Abbot of Hye,

Bed. Eccl. a Presbyter, to whose Ecclesiastical Juris-Hist. 1. 3. diction Scotland was subject; altho some, who cant't agree about the Person, suppose Eccl. Brit. he had a Journyman Bishop to ordain for

Primord. him.

Eutych.

Annals.

Pocock's

Evagr.

D. 85.

P. 707.

Ed. p.328.

36. The twenty third Article is fo far from confining the Power of making Mir nisters to Bishops, that it only in general Terms declares, Ministers are to be sent by those who have publick Authority, With

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out determining who they are; because Chap. 93 the Church, as the Bishop of Sarum ob-Exp. Artic. ferves, " fuppose they might be different 23. " in different places, and therefore al-"low'd all Protestants who separated " from Rome, tho ever so widely differ-" ing in their Notions of Church-Govern-" ment, and the Power of Ordination, " to be true Churches. And he adds; "that neither the Reformers nor their " Successors, for near eighty Years after " these Articles were publish'd, did ever " question the Constitution of such Chur-" ches, where Princes wou'd not suffer " their Subjects to go out of the King-"dom, tho to be regularly ordain'd. Nay, he affirms, "that if a Company of "Christians, tho no Clergymen join with "'em, separate from such a defil'd Wor-" ship as they in Conscience can't comply " with, and chuse some of their own Num-" ber to minister to 'em in Holy Things, "this is not annul'd or condemn'd by "this Article; and that whatever some "hotter Spirits have thought of this " fince that time, yet we are fire that " not only those who pen'd the Articles, " but the Body of the Church for above " half an Age afterward, did, notwith-" standing these Irregularitys, acknow-" ledg foren Churches fo constituted to be " true Churches. If fo, 'tis plain they thought no Spiritual Powers necessary for the Exercise of the Ministerial Function, except what the People cou'd bestow on lome of their Body 37: 'Tis

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37. 'Tis certain, the Opinion of Bishops being necessary to the Church did not prevail, even with the Clergy, till the Treatys of Marriage with Spain and France: but then such unhappy Notions generally obtain'd, as tended to disunite Protestants, advance

Popery, and establish Slavery.

And when our Embassadors went no longer to Charenton, and other such Meetings, and the Laudean Faction wou'd no tonger own 'em for Churches of Christ, 'twas then no wonder they suffer'd Persecution: for with what Grace cou'd we quarrel with the Papists whom we own'd to be a true Church, for their sake whom we accounted no Church? And how satal our breaking off Communion with the Reform'd Churches was to the common Protestant Cause, we may learn from our late Famous Historian, who gives an account, "That in the Reign of Edward VI." when the Reform'd Churches were per-

Dutch, and Walloons, came over to Eng-

or ny useful Manufactures here; how that

King with great Piety and Policy granted

"em many Immunitys, the free Exercife of their Religion, and Churches in

London, Norwich and Canterbury, where-

by the Wealth of those Places marve-

" lously increas'd. He adds, that Queen Elizabeth enlarg'd their Privileges, and

or made great use of these People in her

Transactions with France and Holland

and by their means kept up an useful

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" Interest in all foren Dominions, where Chap. 9.

He then goes on and fays, "That 4 fome years before the Troubles, when " the Power of the Churchmen grew more 4 transcendent, and indeed the Facultys " and Understandings of the Lay-Counsel-" lors more dull, lazy, and unactive (for " without the last the first cou'd have " done no hurt) the Church grew jealous " that the countenancing of another Dif-" cipline here by Order of the State wou'd " at least diminish the Reputation and " Dignity of the Episcopal Government, " and give some countenance to the fac-4 tious and schismatical Party here to ex-" pect fuch a Toleration. And therefore the State conniving, or not interpoling, the Bishops proceeded against 'em; so that many left the Kingdom, to the leffening the wealthy Manufacture then of Kerseys and Narrow Cloths; and what was worse, the transporting the Mystery into foren Parts.

He farther shews, that whereas our Embassadors and foreign Ministers, in any Parts where the Reform'd Religion was exercis'd, frequented their Churches, gave all possible Countenance to their Profession; and particularly the Embassador at Paris had constantly frequented the Church at Charenton, whereby he had kept a necessary Correspondence with the most active and powerful Persons of that Persuasion, to the great Benefit of this Kingdom, by being let into their Secrets of State, and dear riving

riving all necessary Intelligence from them; the contrary to all this was then practis'd, and some Advertisements, if not lastructions, given to the Embassadors there, to forbear any extraordinary Commerce with Men of that Profession: and the Lord Scudamore, then Embassador, not only declin'd going to Charenton, but furnish'd his own Chappel with such Ornaments (to wit, Candles on the Communion-Table, and the like) as gave great Offence and Umbrage to those of the Reformation there, who had not feen the like; besides, he was careful to publish that the Church of England look'd not on the Hugonots as part of their Communion, which my Lord Clarendon fays was too much and too industriously difcours'd at home.

38. And this Favourite Author of High-Church, thro the whole Course of his History, can't forbear owning, that almost the whole Body of the People, as well as the inferior Clergy, were scandaliz'd and offended at the Behaviour of the Bilhops and their few Followers, which was then thought to have a Tendency to Popery, especially the worst part of it, the Domination and Tyranny of the Clergy: and it was this which drew fo many Petitions and Remonstrances from several Parliaments both in England and Scotland, all aloud complaining that Popery was for mented and encourag'd, and the Protestants persecuted and oppress'd by those very Laws defign'd against the Papists Nor was this the Opinion only of the People

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People at home, but of the Protestant Chap. 9. Churches abroad, who all took part against the King on that account. And my Lord Clarendon, notwithstanding all his palliating, is forc'd to own that the Bishops by this extraordinary Conduct of persecuting the Protestant Churches at home, and by feparating from the Proteflant Churches abroad, did it with a design, if not to unite with the common Adverlary, yet to show their good Inclinations. And those ridiculous Innovations brought into the Church by Laud, cou'd have no other End than to make our Separation greater from other Protestants, and to bring us to a nearer Conformity to the Church of Rome: but the People not enduring those Innovations, it put a stop to further Attempts of that kind.

39. The Church is indebted to the State some Millions, not only for being the occasion of sending so many of her People and Manufactures into Foreign Parts, but by hindring others from coming over and fettling here and in Ireland, as the poor persecuted Protestants of Savoy delign'd in Charles II's time. And I cou'd never meet with any other reason, than the Interest of the Church, why the Bill for Naturalizing the Protestants of Orange did not pass both Houses; and there can be no doubt that the Protestants of both those Places wou'd have improv'd the Linen Manufacture, as much as the French Refugees have several others, to the infinite Gain of the Nation. But to return,

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40. I can't see but that those of our Church, who refuse all Communion with other Reform'd Churches, are upon their own Principles guilty of Schism, because they affirm that Churches, tho erroneous, if they impose not things unlawful, have a Right to Catholick Communion: and this, I suppose, they build on the Practice of the Apostles, who communicated not only with the converted Gentiles and believing Jews, but the unbelieving also; each of which must be reckon'd different Communions, if separate Meetings, distinct Teachers, Discipline and Government, as well as different and opposite Doctrines, can make Men fo. And if the unbelieving Jews and believing Gentiles can be reckon'd the same Church, there can be no fuch thing as distinct Communions: nay, the believing Jews themselves, because the Gentiles cou'd not comply with their Rites and Ceremonys, wou'd scarce endure any civil Converse with 'em, much less join with 'em upon any occasion in their Publick Worship. Which Mistakes, as the Apostle Paul labours to rectify, so he esteems Occasional Communion so much a Duty, that he highly blames the great Apostle of the Circumcision for refusing it, out of fear of the Jews, to the Nonconforming Gentiles: but had our Highfliers been to judg, St. Paul must have pass'd for the Hypocrite.

41. At the Reformation the Protestants, tho they differ'd about Modes of Church-Discipline, did not therefore forbear communicating

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municating with one another: but the Chap. 9. People here, as well as in Foren Parts, U fometimes went to the Political, fometimes to other Churches, as they thought most proper for maintaining mutual Charity; and none fcrupl'd communicating with the Protestants aboard; and the Calvinifts declar'd, that their differing in Calv. Inft. their Model of Church-Government from 1. 4. c.10. other Reform'd, ought to be no manner §. 32. of ground for a Breach. And fo fixt was this Principle, that the Papists themselves, till forbid by a Bull, frequently came to our Churches. And the Persecution by de-grees abated Mens Charity, and consequently this Practice, yet we find the Independents did in 1638 (a), when in power, approve and ratify Occasional Communion. And even at this day there are great numbers who practife this most Christian Duty, and in which till very lately they have been encourag'd by our Divines; and the Law fo far favours 'em, as to make 'em capable of Places of Trust and Profit.

42, 'Tis for want of that Charity which is the Confequence of Occasional Communion, that Churches are in a perpetual State of War, and that their Priests make a Man's receiving the Sacrament from them

<sup>(</sup>a) See the Declaration of their Faith and Order, own'd and approv'd by the Congregational Churches in England, agreed upon and settl'd by their Elders and Messengers in their Assembly at the Savoy, Oldob. 12. 1658.

to be lifting himself under their Banner to oppose not the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, but all other Churches, and that too often by carnal, worldly, and devilin Means. And they who are for discouraging this Practice of Occasional Communion, may talk of Unity, but 'tis too plain they aim at Tyranny, and will have no Peace, except with their Vaffals and Slaves. 'Twas by virtue of this Communion of Saints which obtain'd among the Reform'd, that they fo suftly cenfur'd the Uncharitableness of the Papists. But are the Highfliers, who confine the Church of Christ to a smaller number, and are so far from communicating with other Reform'd Churches either at home or abroad, that they damn those who do fo as Schifmaticks and Hypocrites, more charitable? Is not this acting in defiance of the Apostles Creed, which requires Communion of Saints; unless they suppose the Catholick Church in fo deplorable a Condition, as that there are no Saints, except among themselves?

43. As much as the Ecclefiafticks condemn Schism, yet they themselves have all along narrow'd the Terms of Communion, to get the Preferments into fewer And no fooner did the Empire become Christian, than they divided the Church, each Party in their turn, by imposing their own Explication of those Mylverys which themselves own'd to be inex-And when they found their plicable. Adversarys cou'd bring their supple Consciences to comply with those Terms,

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then, for they had never Vacancys enough, Chap. 9. they wou'd endeavour to find out new; and the Bishops (as if they were, according to Marvel's observation, tilting it with Creeds) aim'd to hit one another in the Eye, and throw the opposite Party out of the Sad-And have they not ever fince us'd the fame Method, and contriv'd to pin down on People those things they most scrupl'd? Did not the Episcopalians act after this manner with the Presbyterians at the Refloration, when these last propos'd the Terms on which they were ready to unite? One wou'd be apt to wonder, as Tully fays of the Augurs, how the Highflying Priests can keep their Countenance when they meet, and forbear downright laughing, to fee what wretched Tools they make of the poor Laity, when they engage 'em to harafs, ruin and destroy one another, to gratify their imposing Temper. But all I shall say more on this Head, is, If Men will take upon 'em to judg of the Heart, and make Laws against Hypocrify, 'tis strange they must only suffer, who by their known Principles must be Hypocrites, if they are not Occasional Conformists. Or can that Law be proper to prevent Hypocrify, which, unless the Diffenters are honest Men, can have no other effect than to increase it? For whofoever is fo much a Hypocrite as to take the Sacrament contrary to his Conscience for a Place, will he not be tempted, for Preservation of it, to continue his Hypocrify? I do not mean by going again

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again to the Political Church, for that the Bill did not oblige him to, but in not going to a Diffenting Church; which is the readiest way to make him go to no Church, because one is contrary to his Conscience, and any of the others contrary to his Interest. So that the Bill had no Tendency to prevent Occasional Conformity, but Occasional Nonconformity; and possibly might do a knavish Dissenter fo much Service, as to make him pass for one of High-Church, who oppos'd the obliging all in Offices to receive the Sacrament four times a year with such Arguments, as were they confiftent with themselves, wou'd make 'em endeavour a Repeal of all Sacramental Tests.

44. Nothing can be more odd, than that the Universitys shou'd come into this new Notion of Episcopacy, as necessary to the Being of a Christian Church; or in other words, that Men can't be united to Christ unless they are in Union with a Bishop; because they as well as all other exempt Places are united to no Bishop, being only subject to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Deputy of a Lay-Chancellor; who tho generally a Presbyter, may be, and fometimes is in one of 'em a Layman, and might have been so in t'other, had not Laud alter'd it: and yet this Deputy of a Layman may excommunicate even those Bishops within whose Districts the Universitys are, as well as other Bishops, if by residing there, or by having a Contest with any Member

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Member of those Bodys, they become sub- Chap. 9. ject to his Spiritual Jurisdiction. Nay, each of the Universitys can, in spite of the Bishops of both Provinces, authorize a Man to preach all over England: And feveral Colleges oblige Masters of Arts. whether in Orders or not, to take a Text, and formally to preach on it in their Chappels. And it was fo little thought a Crime for Laymen to preach in the Universitys in Queen Elizabeth's time, that, as Dr. Langbain and Mr. Fuller report, the High Sheriff of Oxford, Mr. Tavernour, with his Gold Chain about his Neck and his Sword by his fide, preach'd before the University of Oxford in St. Marys; and this he did not out of Ostentation, but Charity to the Scholars. So that the Univerfitys have as little reason as the Presbyterians to preach up the Necessity of being united to a Bishop; and they are, tho they rail at the thing, at the best but Occasional Conformists when they communicate with Churches subject to Bishops. And nothing can better show the Sense of the Clergy in former Times as to these Points, than modelling the Universitys after this manner,

which the very Being of the Church depends, happy they who liv'd in the earliest Days when the Line was intire; while we at so great a distance can meet with nothing except Uncertainty, Perplexity, and Despair. How can the Majority of the Christian World, the Simple and Un-

learned,

learned, judg when this Line is broke, and when not? What can be more abfurd than to fend 'em to Fathers, Councils, and Church-History, for their Information? If there was a particular Set of Men, who under a certain Form were to govern the Church, and this was necessary to its Being, Infinite Goodness wou'd no doubt have made it most conspicuous to the Bulk of Mankind who they are. But what other Judgment, upon this Hypothesis, can the most Knowing make, than that 'tis placing the Government of the Church on fuch a foot as must destroy the Church it felf? as I shall now shew, and the rather, because the Papists, who so much boast of this Uninterrupted Line of Succession, may have no reason to insult any of the Reform'd Churches for want of it.

46. But I shall first examine the Popish Whimsy of an Indelible Character, which they urge to support the Chimera of an Uninterrupted Succession. They suppose that a Bishop can neither part with, forseit, nor be deprived of the Power of ordaining Bishops and Priests; and consequently, that a Bishop, tho he is excommunicated, deprived and degraded, or tho he is guilty of Schism, Heresy, Insidelity, or even Atherism, yet that Spiritual Power runs as clearly thro his Fingers ends into the Noddle of all he lays Hands on, as Water thro a Conduit-Pipe.

47. Shou'd we allow an Indelible Character, yet the Papists make so many things necessary to the obtaining of it,

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that 'tis next to impossible they shou'd Chap. 9. have been always regularly perform'd amongst 'em. But not to insist on these things, which they, more than others, suppose necessary to the obtaining of an Indelible Character; I say, that in case of Schism, where two pretend to the same See, the Schismatick cannot be Bishop of a See which before was fill'd with another; and if not of that he pretends to, much less of any other: and if he were not a Bishop before (the Translation of Bishops being a modern Practice, and contrary to the antient Canons of the Church) he was never in possession of the Indelible Character, and consequently was not capable of conveying it to another; which in the Church of Rome must be a bar to the Apostolical Succession, fince there have been, as their own Historian Onuphrius proves, at least thirty Schisins occasion'd by feveral, no less sometimes than five or fix pretending to the Popedom at once: and one of their Schisms lasted more than fifty years, when one Pope fat at Rome, and t'other at Avignon, thundring out all forts of Curses and Cenfures against each other.

48. If Apostolical Power be only to be found in the Apostolick Churches, they who by Schismare cut off from the Church, must also be cut off from all Apostolical Power, and consequently no part of that can be indelibly fixt in any Penson: and where there's no Apostolical Power, there can be no Succession of it. A Right to

govern

Church.

govern the Church by Apostolical Succession, and yet no Right to the Church or any of its Privileges (the Power which is the Adjunct, without the Church which is the Subject) is an Absurdity which equals Transubstantiation; and therefore one wou'd think that no Church which separated from Rome upon the account of her Absurditys, wou'd maintain so great a one as that of an Indelible Character.

If Schism destroys (as has been fully shown in this Chapter) all Apostolical Power and Succession, there can be no doubt that Herefy, Insidelity, and Atheism, do it as effectually: and they must be very fond of an Hypothesis, who can believe that Men, who are guilty of these, are capable of receiving or continuing Apostolical Power in the Catholick

49. In a word, nothing can be more fensless thun this Notion of an Indelible Character, because all Power, of what nature foever, convey'd by Men, is a Truft, and as fuch may be taken away, when the Persons intrusted with it act contrary to the Ends for which they were intrusted; of which those who intrusted 'em, must needs retain a Right to judg: and confequently Priests and Bishops may be reduc'd to the Lay-State they were at first in. And the Practice of the Clergy shows, that whatever they pretend, they themselves do not believe any Character bestow'd by them to be indelible: for what elfe is the meaning of Degradation? Can one

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be degraded from the Degree or Order Chap. 9. of a Priest or Bishop, and yet continue in that Order? If so, to what end did the Papists degrade John Huss, Jerom of Prague, Luther, Cranmer? &c. And why did some modern Bishops and other Divines degrade the late Worthy Mr. Samuel Johnson? And why do some boast that a Clergyman is never executed, being before reduc'd to a Lay-State by Degradation? Why too many of the Clergy in this matter declare one thing, and practife the contrary, is, because the Custom of degrading or reducing Ecclefiafticks to a Lay-Communion, was in use many Ages before this Notion of I know not what peculiar and indelible Character was thought of, and so cou'd not well be discontinu'd afterwards. And tho in the primitive Times we have many Inftances of Bishops, .who were wholly depriv'd of their Office, only admitted to Lay-Communion; that Favour was not always allow'd. For to instance in Basilides, he wou'd have been Cypr. Epis. extremely glad if the Church had per-68. 5.7. mitted him to communicate only as a p. 202. Layman. And at Rome it felf the Clergy were so far from thinking Orders indelity plac'd on any, that the Council of Valencia under Pope Damasus injoin'd that Can. 4. all, whether of the Order of Deacon, Presbyter, or Bishop, convict of dendly Sin, shou'd be remov'd from their Orders. And there are a great number of other Canons, which for feveral Crimes made Ordinations null and void; as when a

Aa

Man gets into an Ecclesiastical Office by

Simony, or other corrupt means. And do not the Popish Historians confess, that for some Ages there was scarce a Pope made without most wicked and uncanonical Dr. Burnet Methods? Was not Eugenius with several of Ordina. others notoriously guilty of Simony, altho the Second Council of Nice declar'd the Orders of all Simoniacks to be void? And 'tis plain that in Pope Stephen's Time this Notion of Orders being Indelible did not obtain; for he null'd the Ordinations of Constantine, who from a Layman was chosen Pope, not staying so long in the intermediate Degrees as the Canons requir'd. Nor did this Opinion prevail even in Stephen the Sixth's Time, since upon the account of some Irregularitys he annull'd the Orders given by Pope Formosus; and after that, as Plutina observes, it became customary for the following infallible Popes to undo the Acts of their Predecessors. So that Bellarmine, who is not often guilty of any thing which tends to the Difadvantage of the Roman See, is forc'd to acknow. ledg, " That for above eighty Years together, the Church, for want of a law-ful Pope, had no other Head than what

much to the same purpose, in saying; Tom. 10. " How deform'd was the Roman Church, Ann. 900. "when Whores, no less powerful than

" vile, bore the chief fway at Rome, and

was in Heaven. Which whether it de-

stroys the Uninterrupted Succession of a

visible Head, let our as well as their Cler-

gy consider. And does not Baronius talk

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Christian Church, &c. " at their pleasure chang'd Sees, and ap-Chap 93 " pointed Bishops; and, which is horrible " to mention, did thrust into St. Peter's " See their own Gallants, false Popes? "Christ was then, it seems, in a very " deep Sleep; and, which was worfe, "when the Lord was thus afleep, there " were no Disciples to awaken him, being " themselves all fast asleep. What kind of " Cardinals can we think were chosen by " those Monsters? Oc. 50. One of the Learned and Judicious Examiners of Bellarmine's Notes of the Church, faith, "Tis probable that the " Roman Church wants a Head, and that

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" there is now no true Pope, nor has been " for many Ages, for that Church to be " united to: for by their own Confession " a Pope Simoniacally chosen, a Pope in-" truded by Violence, a Heretick, and " therefore fure an Atheist or an Infidel, " is no true Pope: and many fuch there " have been of one fort or other, whose " Acts in creating Cardinals, &c. (which &c. includes Bishops and Priests, and all other Orders) " being invalid, 'tis ex-" ceeding probable that the whole Suc-" cession has upon this account fail'd long " ago, &c. If fo, let this Author support the Succession of his own Church if

he can. prov'd, may exercise any Ecclesiastical Function if set apart by the People for that purpose; and infinite Absurditys follow from not allowing em the liberty Aa 2

of making and unmaking their own Mi. nisters, the Custom of their having the Approbation of some Bishops before they are admitted to the Exercise of their Office, can't be of Divine Appointment; much less can the Power of making Bishops and Priests be indelibly fixt in all or any of them. But it being a Custom among the first Christians, which they borrow'd of the Jews, when a Request was of fer'd to God in behalf of any one of the Congregation, for those only who offciated to lay Hands upon him (it being inconvenient for the whole Number to do it) and this being observ'd when a Person was set apart by the People for the Ministry, the Clergy, because they laid Hands on him, when the Congregation pray'd that God wou'd affift him in the Discharge of his Office, wou'd have their performing that Ceremony (which cou'd not fignify their then constituting an Ecclesiastical Officer, but that he was already constituted) a Pretence for claiming the fole Power of making him, and that they gave him, as the Apostles did by laying on of Hands, certain Spiritual Graces and Gifts, which they wou'd have thought ne cessary to qualify him for administring in Holy Things. And this they call'd giving Orders, Ordination, Ordinating, and Ordaining; which Words may be apply'd to Lawyers, Physicians, or Men of any other Rank or Order, as well as to them: for Order signify'd nothing more at first than that when any was let apart by the Faith

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ful for the Ministry, he then was reckon'd Chap. 9. of the Rank or Order of the Clergy, as he was before of the Order of the Laity; both which Orders are mention'd by antient Writers. But the Bishops, to create a higher Reverence and Authority for themselves, pretended to the same Divine Power that the Apostles had; and because these laid Hands on the Baptiz'd, that they might receive Acts 8,27. the Holy Ghost, the Bishops did the same first at the time of Baptism, but now fifteen or twenty Years after: and this the Papists call the Sacrament of Confirmation, and make it not only peculiar to a Bishop, but part of his Indelible Character. But the Popish Bishops might, by putting Clay and Spittle on the eyes of the Blind, as well pretend to open them as Christ did, as to imagine they can, like the Apostles, bestow the Holy Ghost by laying on of Hands. So because the Apostles had the Power of casting out Devils, nothing was more frequent with 'em than the exorcifing of evil Spirits; and there was a peculiar Order in the Church call'd Exorcifts, which the Papifts, the great Followers of Antiquity, keep up to this day. And therefore 'tis no wonder the People, when made to believe that the Bishops by laying on of Hands cou'd bestow such Spiritual Qualifications as they pretended to give, shou'd think it unlawful to admit any to officiate, who had not Hand's laid on him; and at last that the Bishops shou'd get the fole Power to themselves of making Ecclesiasticks, on pretence that it belongs to them to ordain 'em; nay, that the Power A 2 3

of doing this was a Character indelibly fixt in every one of 'em. But they abus'd the People as much with relation to Excommunication; and from being the Mouth of the Congregation only, in declaring their Judgments, and pronouncing their Sentences, by degrees they affum'd the fole Power of Excommunication. So because they were fometimes confulted about Questions relating to Nearness of Blood, and to Marriages, they made that a Handle to fubject to themselves all Matters of Divorces, of Nullitys, and all other Matrimonial Causes: by which means they brought things of the greatest consequence, such as Inheritances of Princes as well as private Persons, under their power; and were wonderfully courted for dispensing with those Degrees which they themselves had on purpose prohibited. So from being Arbitrators, when it was thought not convenient to go to Law before the Heathen, they claim'd a formal Judicial Power in other matters. And 10 from being sometimes advis'd with about a proper Method for fubduing inordinate Defires, they claim'd a Right to inflict Penances: and when they had once obtain'd Power by fuch means as thefe, they tortur'd a great many stubborn Texts, to make 'em contess a Divine Right.

two distinct Acts, as Election by the Church, and Ordination by the Clergy, for making of Elders, than we read of two sorts of 'em; but only of the Apostles constituting of Elders by the Suffrage

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of the People: which, as it is the genuine Chap. 9. Signification of the Greek Word, so it is accordingly interpreted by Erasmus, Beza, Diodati, and those who translated the Smitz, French, Italian, Belgick, and even English Bibles till the Episcopal Correction, which leaves out the words by Election, as well as the Marginal Notes, which affirm, That the Apostles did not thrust Pastors into the Church thro a Lordly Superiority, but chose and plac'd 'em by the Voice of the Congregation. Of the Truth of this Cle-Ep. 1. ad mens Romanus, a Cotemporary, if not Com- Cor. p. 57. panion of the Apostles, is a Witness: and Pope Anacletus, who liv'd not long after, affirms this Right belongs to the Spiritual People, and good Priests. And there's no Instance in the first three Centurys of any one being made a Bishop, except by the Election of the whole Church. And this Practice continu'd, with little or no interruption, for many Ages after; and Fa. Paul even in Rome it self the People till 1147. Ben. Matt. elected their Bishop: and the famous Coun- 5. 117. cil of Nice, in a Synodical Epistle to the Theodor. Church of Alexandria, forbids any to be 547. Ed. I. ordain'd Bishop without the Election of the People: and the Council of Constantinople 382. in an Epistle to Damasus and others, lay that they ordain'd Nectarius cuntta de-Hift. Tricernente Civitate, and Flavianus omni Eccle-part. 1.9. sa decernente. And the first Canon of the 146. fourth Council of Carthage 394. fays, a Bishop is to be ordain'd cum omni consensu Concil. Clericorum & Laicorum. And another Cabilon. Council, even in 650. make the Ordination Sirmond. of 1.1. p.491. A a 4

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of a Bishop to be void, where he is not elected by the People. And Father Paul of Benefic. faith, " That Pope Leo shews amply that "the Ordination of a Bishop cou'd not be " lawful or valid, which was not requir'd or fought for by the People, and by " them approv'd of; which is faid by all " the Saints of those Times: and St. Gregory thought Constance cou'd not be con-fecrated Bishop of Milan, being elected " by the Clergy without the Confent of the Citizens, who by reason of Perse-" cution retir'd to Genoa: and he prevail'd " that they shou'd be first fent unto to " know their Will; a thing worthy to be " noted in our days, when that Election is declar'd to be illegitimate and null, in " which the People have any share. Thus "things are chang'd and pass'd into a " quite contrary Custom, calling that Lawof ful which then was accounted Wicked, and that Unjust which then was reputed This, I think, makes it plain that the Bishops themselves did not for feveral Centurys imagine that the Right of making Bishops was appropriated by God to them, much less that this was an Indelible Character imprinted on them, when we fee that they thought all they did in this matter was null, except where there was a previous Election of the People; which, if the Ordaining (taking that Word for Constituting or Appointing) Bishops had by Divine Right belong'd only to that Order, wou'd be so far from being necessary, that it would be Sacri-

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lege in the People to meddle with it. But Chap. 9. if the Power of chusing Ecclesiastical Officers does naturally or of course belong to the People, their Choice alone is all that's necessary, P. 154. as has been already prov'd, except there's 155, 156, fome Law of God which divides the Power 176, 177, of making Ecclesiasticks between them 178. and the Bishops. And had the Apostles been charg'd to declare to Mankind that God had depriv'd the People of those Rights, either in whole or in part, which the permissive Law of Nature allow'd 'em, they wou'd no doubt have declar'd it in fuch Terms as shou'd have made it as plain to all fucceeding Generations that they had loft those Rights, as that once they had 'em. The utmost which Precedents can do. is to shew that if we were in the same Circumstances with the primitive Christians, it was lawful or expedient, but not neceffary, to act as they did: and 'tis as ridiculous to suppose we are more oblig'd to take Crete or Ephesus for a Pattern in managing our Ecclefiastical than our Civil Affairs, unless there's some Law which commands it: and then no doubt we shou'd have had an exact Description of their Practice. And tho the manner of making Deacons or Overseers of the Poor is more particularly declar'd with all its Circumstances, than can be pretended for the making of Elders; yet none think we are any more oblig'd to take that Method in providing for the Poor, than we are to have a Community of Goods, because it was practis'd by the first Christians; but

that People may, notwithftanding any thing faid there, appoint what Deacons or Overfeers they think fit for the Poor, and make em after what manner they please, no Ecclefiaftick having more Power from God than any other. And the Right of appointing · Clergymen wou'd be as little disputed as the making Overseers for the Poor, if no

more was to be got by it.

53. It is faid the People are to act according to Discretion in providing for the Poor, and appointing what Officers they please to look after them, because they have the Power of disposing their Alms as they think fit. But wou'd not this have given 'em as great a Power with relation to their Ecclefiaftical Ministers, since they alike subsisted by their Alms? And this is so notorious, that in the antient Roman Missals the Priest faid, Remember, O Lord, thy Servants and Handmaids, who make me subsist by their Alms, which was daily deliver'd out to 'em

in Food. And Father Paul observes that

their separate Proportion in Mony every day,

or for a month together or longer; was declin-

History of Eccles. Revenues, p. 46. Beneficiary the altering that Method, and giving em Matters, n. 14.

Per. Sim.

ing from the primitive Perfection. 54. Tho the laying on of Hands was us'd in the Old Testament, when General Joshua and other Civil Officers were made; yet we do not find the Levites ordain'd with that Ceremony, unless we say they were ordain'd by the People when the Lord faid to Moses,

Numb. 8. Thou Shalt gather the whole Affembly of the 9-12. Children of Israel together, and bring the Levites before the Lord; and the Children of Ifrael Mall

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shall put their Hands upon the Levites, and Chap. 9. Aaron shall offer the Levites before the Lord for an Offering of the Children of Israel, that they may execute the Service of the Lord; and the Levites (hall lay their Hands upon the Heads of the Bullocks. So that the Levites were not qualify'd to lay Handson the Beafts that were to be facrific'd, before they had Hands laid on them by the Laity: and the Levites by being the Offering of the People to the Lord, became confecrated or quality'd to execute the Service of the Lord. And Brother Ananias laying Hands on Paul may as well be urg'd for Laymens laying Hands on a Bishop, as Paul's laying Hands on Timothy may be urg'd for Bishops performing that Ceremony; which Ceremony, no Law enjoining it, as the Church was at liberty to continue or not, so whatsoever Power the Clergy more than others had in the making of Elders, there being no Divine Law which determines any thing in this matter, must come from the Content of the Partys concern'd. Nor have we, as I think, any Instances for the first three Centurys of the Clergy's refusing to lay Hands on any the Church had choien: and when Princes took upon 'em to name to the vacant Sees, they thought the Bishops were oblig'd to confecrate those they nam'd. Nor did the Bishops themselves refuse; and the Emperors for a long time together, as Dr. Burnet proves, exercis'd the same Discourse of Tower in making Popes, as our Kings do in Ordination. making Bishops, where those they authorize to perform the Ceremony of Confecration,

cration, act ministerially, and by virtue of

the Royal Mandate.

55. How comes a Bishop's Power of Ordination to be more indelible than the Share of Legislation, or the Jurisdiction he claims, if they are alike of Divine Original? In what Law of God is this Diftinction to be found? And if it be by virtue of his Bishoprick he has this as well as the rest of his Power, must not the Loss of that deprive him of one as well as of the other? How can a depriv'd Bishop convey to others that Government or Jurisdiction which he himself can't pretend to have? Or how can the Canons forbid a Bishop, whether depriv'd or not, to ordain in another's Diocess, if he has a Divine Right indelibly fixt in him to ordain over the whole Church? Which is supposing one Bishop to have such a Right as he himself can't part with, and yet that others can forbid him to exercise it. Divines usually distinguish between a Right to an Office, and a Right to execute an Office: but what is a Right to execute an Office, if not to do those things in which the Office confifts? And can any have a Right to an Office without having a Right to do those things in which the Office consists? So that 'tis an Ecclesiastical Figure, by Laymen commonly call'd a Bull, to distinguish between 'em. And if the Priestood too be an Indelible Character, no Priest can be hinder'd, no not for a time, from doing those things in which the Priesthood confists; and it must destroy all the Schemes of Ecclesia**stical** 

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flical Government which have been yet in Chap. 9. the World.

56. In a word, no one can be appointed to govern a particular District, or to be a Paltor of any Congregation, if not by the Confent of the Partys concern'd, except by a Legislative Power; because Legislation alone can make it a Duty in the People to acknowledg him for their Bishop or Pastor. But as there can't be two Legillative Powers over the same People, so the Bishops with us are allow'd no other Power in this matter than that the People or Patron can't appoint any Pastor who is not first licens'd or approv'd by some one of 'em; which I will not deny may be proper enough to be permitted to Bishops who are not depriv'd. But nothing can be more strange than to allow this Licensing Privilege to Popish Bishops, or to those who are thrown out of their Districts for being in the Interest of an Enemy to our Religion and Government, and who condemn our Church as Schismatical-But enough on this Head. And now I shall, as I promis'd, endeavour to prove that this Hypothesis, which supposes the Being of the Catholick Church depends upon a right Succession of true Bishops, and that none can be a true Bishop who derives not his Power and Government in a Line of Succession from the Apostles, destroys the very Being of the Catholick Church.

57. If in so long a Process of time, as that from the Apostles, there's no Civil Govern-

Government where the Succession has been Chan 9. preferv'd intire; can it be imagin'd that Ecclefiastical Government has been better kept, and not fo much as one Link in the whole Chain broken; especially considering a Succession of Doctrines as well as Persons is necessary, and that Schism and Herefy break this Chain? adam and anols northing

Dostrine of Mr. Dodwell, whom all must allow to be the Ch. of as well vers'd in Ecclesiastical History, as England he is zealous for Episcopal Succession, could concerning the Inde- not avoid owning, " That in a Revolution pendency of " of Ages, there's no Succession in the the Clergy," World, but has fome unjustifiable Turn

" Nor is there, fays he, any thing in the " nature of Ecclesiastical Government; as "tis a Government of external Bodys,

manag'd by Men of like Infirmitys with " those who are engag'd with Civil Go

vernment, that can fecure it against the " like Violences of ambitious and unre-

" fonable Men, who wou'd judg too parti-

" ally in their own Case. Such Violences on the Government may sometimes

" make a Breach in the due Succession, and

" affect the direct Conveyances of that At-" thority from God, which is requisite to

" the giving a Title to those Spiritual Bene

" fits to Souls, which are the great Delign " of Ecclesiastical Communion. and Jahr

58. And if we needed another Confession in fo clear a Case, the Author of the Case of the Regale, &c. a most furious Manfor the Divine Right of Episcopacy, ver frankly owns, "That it wou'd be hard to " find a Bishop against whom some of

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these Objections (relating to Succession) Chap. 9. do not lie: for example, all the Bi-" shops of the Reformation, as well in " England as elsewhere, are struck off at " one blow; for they all deriv'd from " those whom they now account to be, " and then to have been Hereticks. And " the Ordinations of the Church of Rome " must go off too, especially since the " Council of Constance, that turn'd out " all the Popes that were then in the "World, which were three Antipopes " contending one with another. And they " cannot fay of any of their Ordinations " at this day, that they are not deriv'd " from fome of the Antipopes. Nay, all " the Churches, as far as the Arian Herefy " reach'd, may come under this Objec-"tion: for many of their Ordinations " were deriv'd from fome or other who " were Arians, Semi-Arians, &c. Nor are we to stop here, fince, as far as we have any Ecclefiastical History, we find the Christians divided into a great number of Sects; each pretending to be the true Successors of the Apostles, and excluding the rest from being Members of the Catholick Church, either as Hereticks or Schismaticks. And the nature of Schism is acknowledg'd by the Clergy to be fo extenfive, that not only they who cause the Breach, but those who communicate with em, or with those they communicate with, are guilty of it. which has been broke. i of for

they every where deprived Bishops whore Matters

Matters relating to State, as well as Church; whose Deprivations being invalid, as by this Hypothesis they must be, those who succeeded em cou'd be no Bishops.

To which it may be added, that great numbers have been made Bishops who were not rightfully elected. And this must needs be fo, fince Councils have determin'd contrary ways about the Right of Election: And a Choice made by Persons who have no Right to chuse, is an Error of the first Concoction, not to be repair'd. Some have been put into Sees, of which they were incapable by the Canons; others canonically depriv'd, have remain'd in their Sees; some turn'd out of the Church by Excommunication, have continu'd to exercise their Episcopal Function in the Church. And can fuch as thefe any more maintain the Succession, than Persons who are not validly baptiz'd, both as to Matter and Form? And if Women are not capable of baptizing, fince the Church of Rome allows of it, That alone might have strange effect on the Succession.

Rome, which pretends to have had so great a Care in the preserving it, has, as we have prov'd in this Chapter, been destroy'd; we have no reason to think it intire in any other Church: And then, in what a miserable Condition is the Christian World! For God himself cannot make a Succession which has been broke, not to have been broke. And when once those Spiritual Powers, suppos'd necessary for the Being of

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a Christian Church have fail'd for want of a Chap. of due Succession, it is the same thing as if they never had been. This, instead of building the Church on a Rock, is placing it on a very sandy Foundation.

61. All that is faid to help the poor Church in this lamentable condition, is urg'd by the charitable Mr. Dodwell, "That Independs this Breach of the Succession is a Ne-of the Cler-cessity of God's making, in constituting sy, \$.38.

"his Church such a Body; when he might have made it otherwise. And being a Necessity of God's Contrivance, by
Man perfectly unavoidable, his Equity

" is more oblig'd to provide for the Con"fequence. And he makes as to this

point no difference between Ecclesiastical Defence of and Civil Government, but saith, "Both the Vindic." are usually chang'd by Prescription; of the Deau which by the Laws of Nations, and with priv'd Biance & A.

" relation to the Good of Mankind, and hops, \$.468 "Government in general, is in process of

" time fufficient to extinguish an Original
"Right; and make that Right, which at
"free was no other than Investor and Via

" first was no other than Invasion and Vio-"lence: and that Nullitys in tract of time

" may be in full force. But,

If God intended the Clergy shou'd have an Independent Power, and that it shou'd be convey'd by way of Succession; I demand whether he design'd this succession to last to the end of the World, or for a time only? If to the end of the World, will it not argue a want of Foresight in God, to contrive such a Medium for the conveying of this Power, as must in some short time.

time fail? Or rather, is it not to make God actinconfishently, and design perfect Contradictions? For what can be more so, than to intend a Succession to continue to the End of the World; and at the same time manage matters so, that it must in a short time fail, thro a Contrivance of God's own, by Man perfectly unavoidable? But,

If the Succession was to continue only for a time, is it not as ridiculous to insist on it when the time is expir'd as the only Title to Church-Government, as 'tis to pretend the only Right to Civil Government is founded on being Adam's Heir (about which some even now keep such a mighty pother) when 'tis impossible to find out this Heir?

62. To be short, nothing can be plainer (if that Power which was supposed to be given by Revelation to certain Persons and their Successors, for the Government of the Church, has fail'd for want of a due Succession) than that the Church is either dissolved for want of such Governors, or else the People have sufficient Power within themselves to manage their Church Affairs, and to give some of their Body a Right to exercise all Ecclesiastical Offices. And,

If Prescription, as this Author owns, can make mere Nullitys to become good and valid, nay, cause that to be Right which at first was Invasion and Violence, the Laity may be capable of all manner of Ecclesiastical Power: for their seizing on it can be only Violence and Invasion, and was a mere Nullity at first. And this he acknowledges in the Instances he gives of

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" the Macedonians first, and the Romans Chap. 9. " afterwards, by Prescription acquiring a "Right of making and unmaking High " Priests at their pleasure. And those made by the last, we cannot doubt to be lawful and rightful, fince Christ himself communicated with 'em. Nay, he suppofes " the Case to be the same with the " Greeks, who, as he faith, are brought " to that pass now, that their Patriarchs " have not their Power for their Lives. " but during the pleasure of the Infidel " Magistrate. Which necessarily supposes the Clergy have no supernatural Powers or Privileges; which being out of the reach of Force and Violence, the Magistrate can never by fuch carnal Weapons gain a Right by Prescription to deprive any one of 'em. And if the unbelieving Magistrates have no Spiritual Powers, their Creatures, High-Priests and Patriarchs, whom they make and unmake at pleasure, can have as little as their Creators.

63. This Author wou'd do the World no small kindness in letting 'em know, how long Time is necessary for Lay-Prescription in Spiritual Matters, to pass into a Right; because till then 'tis Schism, and as he saith; Heresy too, not to adhere to a Bishop depriv'd by Lay-Powers; but then it must be the same to adhere to him.

And this I demand the rather, because twer since the Reformation our Legislators have depriv'd both Bishops and Priests, and the Crown upon an Appeal is intrusted with the Power of doing it. And if so Bb 2

Iong a Time is sufficient to create a Right, then our Author, and the rest of the Men of the true Church of England (as they term themselves) are by their own Principles guilty of Schism and Heresy, in adhering to

the late Bishops. Nay,

This Author must either acknowledg himself and the rest of the Nonjurors Schifmaticks and Hereticks, or elfe own that the Jewish and Greek Churches were diffolv'd by the Magistrate's depriving their High-Priests and Patriarchs: for if he had not a Power to do this without the help of Prescription, their Deprivation must be at first invalid, and they retain'd, as still obliging in Conscience, all their Spiritual Power; and those who intruded into their Places were (to use his Expression) nulli foras alieni; who, as they had no Title themselves, so they cou'd convey none to any other. And therefore this Hypothesis can't preserve either the Jewish or Greek Church, without owning that the Magistrate, tho an Infidel, had this Power even from the beginning belonging to him. And if Infidels have this Power, it wou'd be absurd in him to denyit (Supreme Power being every where the fame) to Christian Magistrates. Nor,

64. Can Prescription be of any force, except in those things only which have no higher Original than Human Consent. To prescribe in things of a Divine Origin, is prescribing against God himself. But it Prescription, which is only a tacit or presum'd Cousent, gives a Right, certainly

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that which is express does as fully; and Chap. 9. therefore the Magistrate can gain nothing by Prescription, except what the People by their express Consent are able to give him.

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65. Prescription, Length of Time, Laws of Nations, which only relate to things transacted between different Nations, have nothing to do in giving a Right upon Change of Government; because as Men must needs be in a State of Nature, in all Cases where the Suddenness of the Danger hinders 'em from having recourse to the Magistrate; fo they are wholly in that State, when their Governors, by Abdication or any other ways, become incapable of protecting 'em: and then the Right they have of acting for their own Good, of which they can't divest themselves, obliges 'em, notwithstanding any Oaths or Obligations they were under to their former Governors, to come out of that State, by having recourse to those Powers which are best able to protect 'em; who the first minute the People have by Words or Actions own'd 'em, have the fame Right to their Obedience, as if they had been fettl'd a thousand years. But were Men oblig'd not to own the Government in whose Power they were, till it cou'd plead Prcscription, in what a miserable Condition must they be? because they who disown it must be as much in the State of outlaw'd Persons, as if the Government had disown'd 'em; which wou'd not only provoke the Government to treat 'em as sworn E-

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nemys,

nemys, but subject them and theirs to the Infult of every one. And considering how frequent Revolutions are, there wou'd be few Governments which Men of these Principles cou'd own, one Usurpation generally fucceeding another, before any had obtain'd a Right by Prescription. But if we are to be govern'd by the Good of Mankind (fince the less time a Government has been settl'd, the more need it has of Rest) That requires Obedience at the very first. and not to stay till Prescription has gain'd a suppos'd Right; which is an Hypothesis fo very absurd, that no Persons were ever influenc'd by it, no not this Author himself, nor any of the other Jacobites, who contend

fo zealously for it; fince,

66. Tho they pretend 'tis against their Consciences to own the present Government for want of a fufficient Prescription, Length of Time, &c. yet 'tis in Words only: for by their Actions they do, and have all along own'd it, in claiming all manner of Protection from it, which is fufficiently acknowledging any Government: for he that's willing not to be a Prey to every one who is too ftrong for him, but to be protected by the Government, must be willing, tho he pretends ever so much the contrary, to pay it all the Obedience necessary for that end. And if he thinks it lawful to allow the Government a coercive Power over all others, to hinder 'em from injuring him; he mult think it as lawful that it shou'd have the fame to restrain him from injuring them.

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And in appealing to the Courts of Justice Chap. 9. he owns himself ready to submit to the Determination of the Judges, and consequently to the Laws and Authority by which they act, and in whose Name all Processes are.

67. In the State of Nature every one was to judg for himself; and Men came out of that State, when they had recourse to a common Umpire, to determine Differences, and redrefs Injurys by known and stated Laws. And are not the Jacobites in the State of Nature still, for any Protection they receive from the pretended James the Third, or those commission'd by him? And if having constant recourse to a Government for its Protection be not owning it, nothing is; fince 'tis That alone which makes the difference between a Natural and a Political State. And they who allow the Governors of the Country they live in all that's necessary to protect 'em (and who is fo much a Jacobite as not to be willing to do that?) grants 'em all they can justly claim; because if they extend their Power to other Ends, they exceed their Commission, and turn Tyrants.

68. And 'tis by these Actions, in common to the facobites with other Subjects, that the greatest part of Mankind ever own'd any Government. And shou'd Men once think themselves bound in Conscience to destroy that Government to which they have recourse for Protection in their Lives, Familys, and Propertys, for no other reason than because it has not protected 'em

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for

for a long time together, which yet it wou'd do, did not they themselves endeavor to prevent it; what a havock wou'd this make in the World? And what a miserable Uncertainty must the Bulk of Mankind be reduc'd to, if the Lawfulness of Obedience must depend on contested Titles, or a sufficient Prescription, the certain time of which none can assign? So that Men of these Principles, instead of being influenc'd by the Good of the World, the Foundation on which this Author wou'd build his Hypothesis, may be justly reckon'd common Enemys to Mankind.

By what's here said, 'tis plain, if Ecclesiastical Government is chang'd after the fame manner as Civil, both are built on the Consent of the People; and consequently the Jacobites have no Pretence from what this Author has said concerning Prescription, Laws of Nations, or the Good of Mankind, not to submit to the present Government in

Church and State.

69. This Author has given up the Cause of Prescription in the Case in View Consider'd, a Pamphlet just now publish'd; because he there supposes the Death or Depriv'd Bishops of the Relignation (which might have happen'd immediately on their Deprivation) sufficient to give a Right to the present Possessors. But if the fecond Donation was, as he faith, null and invalid, by the Donors having exhaufted their whole Power by the first Donation, I wou'd know of him the Difference between an invalid Do. nation

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nation and no Donation; or what Spiritua-Chap. 9. litys the suppos'd Usurpers can have, and by whom they were convey'd. So I wou'd likewise ask him, what other reason his Bishops, who have not presum'd to do any Episcopal Acts since their Lay Deprivation, cou'd have not to resign all this while, except it were to keep the Nation in Communion with the Devil, as he affirms all Schist-Occas. Com. maticks to be.

Another thing I wou'd ask him is, Whether all he had faid to heal a broken Succession, is not destroy'd by his affirming, "That the Church requires Gover-Defence of nors authoriz'd by God, more than the Vindic. of the Dework of the Civil Societys do; and that he has priv'd Binot given Men reason to expect that shops, p. when the Breach shall fall, he will extra- 101.

"ordinarily empower Men? &c. And therefore he concludes, "that the only "way for fecuring the Church, is by fe"curing the Succession. But now 'tis more than time to have done with this Profound Author, admir'd abroad as well as at home for his great Learning in Ecclesiastical Matters, and his deep Skill in Controversys of this nature, and to proceed to other Arguments.

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## CHAP. X. of y egod

by whom they were excitored. So I would

Epifopul Ada in That the Catholick Church confifts of several Bodys Independent on each other; and that none of thefe have Power to make Clergymen, except for themselves; and that the contrary Opinion necessarily supposes a Universal Bishop or "not given Aven to the to e. sqo Prhat hour p. " when the Bresch has fall he weeking to

" ordinarily opposite Men

1. THO 'twere easy to prove that every Congregation, how small soever, gather'd together in the Name of Christ, is a compleat Body Politick with respect to Ecclesiasticals, as having every thing within it felf requisite to the Being of a Church; yet I shall not insist on it, because itis sufficient to my present purpose, if every Christian Nation be somand if England, for instance, were not such a Body, we have neither any Ecclesiastical Laws nor Persons among us, because we neither have nor desire the Consent or Approbation of any other Persons in the making either of 'em. Nay, is not the Reformation built on this, and do not our Clergy and others fwear to disown any

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foren Power, Jurisdiction, and Authority Chap. 10 whatsoever in Ecclesiasticals? And do not all Protestant Nations claim the same Power? If it be otherwise in Popish Countrys, 'tis only their Folly or Ignorance which causes'em to be impos'd on by the Bishop of Rome.

2. What Argument is there to prove any Nation to be a compleat Body Politick for Civils, except that they have as to Those a Legislative and Executive Power? And will not the fame hold as ftrongly in Ecclefialticals? And it they who have the Supreme Temporal Power in one Country, cannot give one a Right to exercise any Civil Jurisdiction, or even any Ministerial Office, in another not hibject to them; the Reason is equally concluding as to Ecclefiafticals. And by the fame reason, he who is excommunicated in one National Church, is no more to in any other, than one who is outlaw'd in one Country is fo in others.

3. In a word, when any Power gives one a Right to exercise any Employ whatsoever, that Right can extend no farther than his Power does who bestow'd it, and can never be made to reach to any Independent Place. And therefore 'tis evident that he who is made a Priest or Bishop in one Nation, is only a mere Layman in another; where if his Acts are valid, without any new Ordination, Consecration, &c. it can be upon no other soot, than that the Consent of the People is sufficient to authorize one to exercise any

part of the Ecclesiastical Function, and that the Clergy (since there cannot be two Originals of the same Power) derive all their Right from thence. And as every Church in the Apostles time was Independent of any other; so the Elders or Bishops were ordain'd only for a particular City, or Church within that City; and consequently, out of it they had no more Right to exercise an Ecclesiastical Office than any other Christian.

4. To avoid these Consequences, it is faid, That every Nation is not a compleat Body Politick within it self as to Ecclesiasticals; but the whole Church, say they, composes such a Body, and Christ is the

Head of it.

But Christ's Headship makes Christians no more one Body Politick with respect to Ecclesiasticals than to Civils. His Precepts equally extend to both, and the whole Earth is God's and Christ's Kingdom; and yet the Kingdoms of the Earth are distinct and independent of one another, and so are all National Churches.

If Church-Government does not in every Nation flow from the Consent of the Partys concern'd, but was plac'd by God in the Apostles and their Successors; then fince each of the Apostles and each of their Successors cou'd not (that implying a Contradiction) have the Government of the whole Church, each must have a Part only, or all must be so join'd as to make only one

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s. As to the First: If each of the Apoftles was a Governor of a Part only of the Church, That must during their Lives be divided into as many independent Bodys, as there were Apostles; and after their Death, into as many more, as they had Successors; each of which being Supreme in his own Diocess, cou'd have no Superior except God, to whom alone he's accountable: and confequently all the Bishops in the World cou'd not inflict the least Spiritual Censure on him, for that wou'd make him accountable to his Equals, who cou'd make no Laws relating to his District, because the Supreme Government of that belongs to him independently of all others. Nor cou'd any Synodical Acts, tho all the Bishops shou'd agree, bind any of their Successors, fince they have their Authority by the same Divine Right, and as independently as their Predecessors. Nor can the Acts of any one of 'em, whether of Excommunication, Ordination, &c. reach further than the Church within his Bishoprick, because all other Churches are under Independent Governors of their own; and confequently as to them he is a mere private Person.

These things (not to mention any others) sufficiently demonstrate that the Government of the Church was not so divided among the Apostles sirst, and their pretended Successors afterwards, as that

each

each was Supreme and Independent in a pat-

ticular District.

6. As to the Second: If the Government of the Church was in all the Apostles so united as to make only one Supreme Powe er; no less than a Majority cou'd make Laws, or dispose of Offices and Employs: and this wou'd be the fame in relation to their Successors, and consequently all the Bishops of the Catholick Church must be fo united as to make only one Government; which supposes a Necessity of their being form'd into an Assembly, in order to debate and conclude things by a Majority, and that none cou'd have a Right to any Ecclesiastical Office, except what he must derive immediately or mediately from this Grand Senate: and whofoever had any Church-Power or Jurisdiction, must act as their Deputy, by an Authority deriv'd from them, to whom the last Appeal upon all occasions wou'd be: and for any other besides them to attempt to make Laws or Canons for the Church, or any Part thereof, wou'd be Spiritual Treafon and Rebellion. But there never was a General Assembly of Bishops (at least till the Empire became Christian) and confequently from the Decease of the Apostles to that time, the Church was without Government, and fo she must have been ever fince the Empire was cantoniz'd into fo many Provinces. And this holds, espe-- cially among the Protestants, where each Nation acts as independently in Ecclesiasticals as in Civils, and is as much a distinct Gom!

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Community with relation to one as to the Chap. 10 Nor in reality was the Church ever one Body Politick, by virtue of any Assembly of Bishops; because the greatest number of 'em that ever met in a Council. were only a few in comparison of the rest: For in the Primitive Times a Bishoprick, and what we now call a Parish, were the fame thing; a Bishop had only one Altar or Church belonging to him, fo that he cou'd daily inspect all under his Care. even after that time their Diocesses were small: For in that Part of Africa which belong'd to the Christians, St. Austin rec- Tom. 7. kons nine hundred Bishops; and Baronius de Gestis fays, that as low down as 1145. there cum Emcwere a thousand in Armenia; and yet at ric. the General Council of Nice there were about three hundred, and at that of Constantinople not above half the number. true, at the Council of Ariminum the number of Bishops was double to that of Nice; but nothing can be prov'd from thence (fince that will not be allow'd to be a General Council) except that the greater the Number, the likelier they are to be in the wrong.

7. Besides, these Councils did not act by an Independent Power, but were call'd, prorogu'd, and dissolv'd at the Pleasure of the Emperors, who assembl'd 'em by the same Right as they did any of their other Subjects, to advise with; and as they thought sit, pass'd or not pass'd their Resolves, I mean such as were the Subject of Human Power, into Laws, no ways

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obligatory on any Christians beyond the Bounds of the Empire. And this Right all other Magistrates have in their Dominions. And indeed General Councils are fo far from being the Church-Representative, that whatever they determine can have no Virtue, except the Supreme Powers give it the Force of Laws: and where these enact any thing contrary to the Sentiments of fuch Councils, they who compose those Councils, as well as all others, are bound by it. And indeed all Human Laws whatever, as has been prov'd in the Introduction, must be resolv'd into the Will of the present Legislators, whose presum'd Will it is, that all Laws enacted by their Predecessors shall be valid, till they declare otherwise; and if it were not so, 'twou'd be impossible for 'em to repeal any Laws formerly made. Nay, even God's Laws do not depend upon his having enacted 'em in former Times, but because it's the Will of the Ever-living Being that they shall bind at present. This shews how abfurd 'tis to have recourse to the Power and Authority of former Councils, or any other Assemblys of Ecclefiasticks.

In a word, if the Bishops are not Supreme, each in his own District, nor so united, as to compose only one Government for the whole Catholick Church; there remains no other way to make the Church only one Body Politick, or its Government of Divine Appointment, than by supposing some one of the Aposities,

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ftles, and his Successors after him, to Chap 10 preside over the whole Church, as Univerfal Bishop; and the rest to act as his Deputys, and by his Authority, and be deprivable at his Pleasure, to whom is the last Appeal, and in whose Determinations all must acquiesce. No Power less than this can make the Acts of any Clergyman, whether of Ordination, Excommunication, &c. valid thro the whole Church; since that can only be done by virtue of an Authority which extends so far, and is the Fountain, Foundation and Center of Catholick Union and Communion.

8. Indeed when Men do not think it fufficient for Salvation to be united to Christ by true Faith, and to one another by Christian Love, leaving every Community to form what Ecclesiastical Government they think fit; but make it necessary to the very Being of Christianity to be united by some one external Head or Government, as the Center of Catholick Union and Communion; I cannot fee how a Popedom is avoidable, which must have Authority to judg of the Differences between Provincial and National Churches that are equal among themselves, thereby to promote the Communion of Saints, and to hinder the Body of Christ from being divided. And there can be no Argument fram'd from a Power in a National Church to judg of Schisms, Herefys, &c. which will not equally hold for the Catholick Church. And nothing can be pleaded for the

the Necessity of uniting so many Congregations as make up a Diocess under a Bishop, and so many Diocesses as make up a Province under an Arch-Bishop, which will not as strongly hold for all the Provinces being u-

nited under the Pope.

9. Who is there that claims this Power except the Bishop of Rome as deriving it from St. Peter; to whose Successors had not this descended, must it not upon the death of the rest of the Apostles have fallen to St. John, and after him to his Successors? But we do not find the Successors of any Apostles besides St. Peter pretend to this Power.

In a word, there are several other Arguments, which upon this common Hypothess of the Clergy make for the Necessity of a Spiritual Monarch in the Church; as for

instance.

Conversion to Christianity, sufficient Power to make their Church Governors, we must admit of some Universal Bishop, to whom Nations, as they turn Christians, become subject, and to whom it belongs to invest some, as his Deputys, with a Right to exercise Ecclesiastical Power over 'em; which he cou'd not bestow on others, were it not first in himself. And this Power cannot at the same time belong to more than one; and consequently, there's a Necessity, if you reject the People, to have recourse to a Pope.

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All that can be faid in answer to this is, Chap. 10 that either he who converts a Nation has a Right to govern'em, or else, that they may chuse their own Ecclesiastical Governors, provided they are such as have Episcopal Ordination.

As to the first, persuading Peopleto frame themselves into a Church, gives one no more Right to govern 'em in Ecclesiasticals, than reasoning 'em into a Commonwealth does in Civils. Besides, if the Converter be no Bishop, there's no Pretence for this Supposition, unless it subjects 'em to the See from whence he came, which wou'd place all

Christians under that of Ferusalem.

If the People may chuse whom they think fit to govern 'em, provided they have Hands laid upon 'em by Bishops; it shows 'tis their Choice alone which gives 'em this Power; and that what the Bishops do is at the most only qualifying 'em to receive it: As in a parallel Case, if none be capable of Regal Power who is not anointed by a Bishop, such an Unction wou'd only put him in a Condition to be a King; but the Power wou'd be actually deriv'd from those who chuse him, and so wou'd the Right the Bishop had to perform the Anointing Ceremony, fince they might appoint what Bishop they pleas'd, and he whom they appoint, wou'd act only ministerially, being oblig'd to anoint whom they chuse. And 'tis notorious that with us (and fo it was every where formerly, as I shall prove hereafter) Cc 2 the the Bishops act ministerially, being under no less Penalty than a Premunire oblig'd to confirm and confecrate the Person nam'd in the

Conge d' Elire.

Nation which is to fettle their Ecclesiastical Government, but to any which designs to change their old Form for that of Episcopacy. In this case, as they may chuse what Bishops they please, so all the Power these have over 'em is deriv'd from their Choice; none having any till then, and then 'tis their Choice alone which prefers them before others.

12. To carry this further, none can have a Right to dispose of the Ecclesiastical Power of a deceas'd Bishop, except he or they to whom upon his Death it devolves; and that must devolve, if to those of the Episcopal Order, either to all, or to a determinate Number, or to a fingle Bishop. If to the first, the Consent of all, or at least of a Majority (in which the rest are included) is necessary to dispose of what devolves to all: and this is the lame, it it devolves to any fet Number. But as neither can be pretended, so either wou'd prove that there's now no fuch thing as a Bishop, because there's none who derives his Power from all, or any fet Number of Bishops. But if it devolves to neither of these, there remains no other than a fingle Bishop to have the sole Right of constituting Bishops for the Catholick Church, and affigning to every one of 'em the

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the Limits of their Districts, and of aug-Chap.10 menting or decreasing their Number, as the Good of the Church requires. And then in what a Condition are all those Churches which have no recourse to this Universal Bishop or Pope?

13. There's no Scheme which can give the Protestants any Bishops, without supposing the Power of a deceas'd Bishop devolves to the People, to be dispos'd of by them, or by an Authority deriv'd from

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For it cannot be pretended, supposing the Power a Bishop had over his District was owing to the Bishops laying Hands on or confecrating him, that the Bishops act in their own Right, or by a Power inherent in themselves dispose of the Power of the deceas'd Bishop, as upon his Death devolving to them; because then only they to whom it devolves, whether they are all the Bishops of the Catholick Church, or a fet Number, or some one Bishop, cou'd dispose of it again: which wou'd be inconsifent with the Magistrate's authorizing any two or three Bishops, or even any single Bihop, exclusively of all the rest, to lay Hands ipon him; and consequently the Power which in this case is supposed to be coner'd on him, is deriv'd from the Magitrate, who commissions which of 'em he pleases, to give one a Jurisdiction in a District where they had none themselves: and 'tis he who impowers them to do more for other Bishops than they can for hemselves, since they cannot appoint their Cc 3

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their own Successors. As no Bishop by his own Authority can give another Power out of his own District, out of which he has none himself; so none can give one a Jurisdiction greater than his own, not only over his own Diocess, but over the whole Province and all the Bishops of it, as Primates, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs have.

14. With us (and 'tis the same in other Protestant Countrys which have Bishops) nothing can be plainer than that the Bishops act only ministerially, and by virtue of the Regal Commission, by which the Prince firmly enjoins and commands 'em, on the Fidelity by which they are bound to him, to proceed according to the Form of the Statutes in Chusing, Confirming, and Consecrating: Itrange Words for one who is supposed to be a Subject to them in this Spiritual Matter, but more strange that the disobeying him in not chusing, confirming, and confecrating the Man he appoints, is under no less Penalty than a Premunire, a greater Punishment than the Civil Ministers suffer for not obeying the Royal Mandate. And the Bishops have so religiously in this matter observ'd their Princes Commands, that there's no Instance of their scrupling to comply with the King's Writ, ever fince the Parliament in vested the King with all manner of Spiritual Power, which from him as the Fountain is deriv'd to the Bishops and other Ecclesiasti. cal Persons. But had the Bishops an Independent Power to make Bishops, every one fees

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fees the Magistrate cou'd have no more Right Chap. 10 to name the Bishops, than they had to name the Judges or other Civil Officers: nay, they might as well pretend to appoint the Persons who are to succeed in the Civil, as the Magistrate those who are to succeed in the Spiritual Empire. All that is faid in answer to this is, that we must obey the Supreme Powers in all lawful things; which supposes it lawful for them to command in these matters, and consequently that the Bishops (since there cannot be two commanding Powers about the fame things) act only as their Ministers in obeying their Commands, when they confecrate the Bishops of their appointing.

more might be added, is, I think, sufficient to satisfy an impartial Reader, that the Clergy who assert it necessary to the Being of the Church of England that the Bishops shou'd derive an Independent Power from the Papists, in the way of Succession from the Apostles, instead of defending, expose and betray the Church to the Papists; who can't desire a better Hypothesis with relation to her Government, to confound her from one end to tother, and to re-establish the Papal Su-

premacy.

16. 'Tis not in this alone, but in other Points, even the most absurd, that some Protestant Divines affert such Maxims as too much countenance Popery: of which to mention a few will not be foren to our

purpose; as,

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First, How can they condemn the Papists for denying the Magistrate a Power over the Lives of the Clergy, when they affert that the Right they have to their Ecclesiastical Offices is not subject to him upon any account whatever, as being deriv'd from an Authority Independent of and Superior to all Human Power? Since in Deprivation of Life is included a Deprivation of all Offices whatever, can one who has no Right to put a Man to death, have a Right to hinder him from breathing; and is that more necessary for Life than Life is for an Office?

17. Secondly, There's nothing our Clergy more rhetorically exclaim against, than the Uncharitableness of the Papists in confining Salvation to their own Church; and yet do they not the fame in applying Schism, which they affirm is a damnable Sin, to all who refuse to communicate with their Church? A greater Uncharitableness than that of the Papists, because their Difference with Protestants is much greater and wider than that between Protestant and Protestant. 'Tis no doubt intolerable Impudence in the Papists to appropriate to themselves the Name of Catholick Church; and yet I do not fee how those Churches can cenfure them, which as well as the Papists exclude from the Catholick Church, either as Schismaticks or Hereticks, all who will not join in Communion with them.

18. Thirdly, Tho nothing can be more wicked than the Popish Doctrine of not keep-

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ing Faith with Hereticks, yet if the Law Chap. 19 of God, as too many of the Clergy of all fides affirm, obliges the Magistrate to punish them, he is, notwithstanding any Promises, Vows or Oaths to the contrary, under a prior and an indispensable Obligation to God to profecute 'em. And if Herefy makes Men forfeit their Right to Property, Liberty, and even Life, why not their Right to Truth, especially when telling Lyes may be any ways advantageous to Orthodoxy? And when Men once think that Sincerity and Impartiality are not fufficient, but that the Belief of fuch or fuch Doctrines are necessary to Salvation, will they not be tempted to use Falshood and Deceit, whenever they imagine these proper or effectual for the propagating or promoting those Doctrines? For if they think it lawful to deceive Children, melancholy and fick Persons, &c. for the fake of their bodily Health, or temporal Advantage; may they not be apt to conclude that the obtaining infinitely greater Benefits for mens Souls will justify the fame Method? And the best we can suppose of the Ecclesiasticks is, that all the holy Cheats, pious Frauds, and godly Forgerys which from time to time they have been guilty of, were owing to this Princi-One of Mr. Chillingworth's Reasons or going over to the Romanists was, occause, as he says, The Protestant Cause is Preface to om, and hath been from the beginning main-Religion ain'd with gross Falsifications and Calumnys, of Protephereof the Prime Controversy-Writers are no-stants. torioully

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toriously and in a high degree guilty. And upon his return he does not disown this. but only fays, Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra, the Papists are more guilty of this Fault than Protestants. It were to be wish'd that antient Writers were not criminal in this Point as well as modern; and that St. Jerom had no reason for saying, Ecclesiastici Viri non Dogmatum custodiunt Veritatem, sed de corde suo confingunt, Magistrumque habent prasumptionem suam; or for what he affirms of all the Fathers in general down to his own Time, that in managing Controversys they did not speak as they thought, but as it made for their purpose; Non dicunt, fays he, quod sentiunt, sed quod necesse est. And this is one Reason, among many others, why the Judicious Daille supposes the Authority of the Fathers is so little to be rely'd on.

19. Fourthly, If the restraining of Herefy by Civil Penaltys be, as too many of the Clergy affert, necessary for preserving the Peace, Purity, and Unity of the Church, they can't deny its Governors a Right to depose those Princes who proted Herefy; unless they fay that the Church wants what's necessary for its own Support, which they are so far from owning, that they do not only suppose the Church the most compleat Body Politick, as being Divinely form'd, but say that the Temporal Empire must give place to the Spiritual, the State to the Church, the Good of which they esteem the Supreme Law And

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And they who suppose that People by Chap.10
Herefy forfeit their Propertys, can't well
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ny of 'em claim, more than a Declarative Power (between which and a Judicial there's no Medium) of Binding and Loofing, they ought not to use so great a Trust blindly, but make Men, before they absolve 'em, confess all the Particulars and Circumstances of their Sins, since these so much alleviate or aggravate the Guilt.

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Law. And 21. Sixthly, If the Clergy can judicially bind or loofe Mens Sins to all Eternity; why may they not have so small a Branch of this Power, as to free Men by their Prayers from Punishment in a State (call it Purgatory or what you will) where they can remain only for a time, till the Resurrection? At least they who claim an infinitely greater Power, can't with any good Grace condemn the Popish Clergy for being guilty of an abominable piece of Priestcraft, in pretending to the lesser.

22. Seventhly, Why may not the Popish Clergy consecrate Water, Beads, Candles, &c. as well as Protestants do Timber, Stone, Lime, and other Materials of Churches? For they are not satisfy'd with allowing these Places a mere relative Holiness on the account of People's meeting in 'em to worship God, because that's the same if

they

they met in Places unconfecrated; and as

'tis wholly owing to cheir Meeting, fo no Place can have any longer a Right to it when that's discontinu'd. But the Ecclefiafticks contend that they infuse a fort of they know not what peculiar Sanctity into the very Materials of the Churches, which is fo inherent in 'em, that 'tis profane to put 'em to any Secular, when they ceafe to be imploy'd for a Religious Use. And why may not the Papists as well pretend to infuse the like inconceivable Holiness into the Trinkets they bless? The Priests even in the Primitive Times found out a notable Pretence for their Confecration, or rather Conjuration, that the Devil was in all things unconfecrated by them; and there-Inquiry into fore 'twas not lawful, for instance, to use the Consti- any unconsecrated Water in Baptism, till tution, &c. they had exorcis'd the Devil out of it. But then from this General Rule they excepted certain Pieces of old Wood, rusty Iron, rotten Bones, and fuch-like Relicks; which they maintain'd were fo far from having any Devil in 'em, that they had Virtue enough to drive away ten thousand evil Spirits, and do a prodigious Number of other miraculous Feats.

This strange unconceivable Virtue and Holiness, which is supposed to be in inabeen the occasion of infinite Superstitions, and has introduc'd into the Gentile World the Worship of Images, which 'twas impossible the People shou'd be so absurd as to imagine real Deitys; but they only thought,

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thought, as the Fathers themselves own, Chap. 10 that the Priests by their Consecration infus'd into 'em a certain Divine Holiness, and made their Gods to inhabit there, as some fay God now does in Churches, after an inconceivable manner; and therefore they pay as profound a Respect to their Images, as fome do to a confecrated Table plac'd Eaftward. Which Notions the Heathen Clergy propagated to create a greater Veneration to themselves; and how well they have been copy'd by some Christian Priests, the Reader, I suppose, wants not to be inform'd. Therefore I shall only add, that 'tis to these Notions that most of the absurd Doctrines relating to the Lord's Supper are in a great measure owing: For when Men began to believe that Sacramental was not only distinguish'd from Common Bread, by the Holy Use the Receivers apply'd it to, but that the Confectation of the Priest made a great difference between them, tho they knew not where to fix it, they never left running from one Absurdity to another, till at last they suppos'd it had such powerful Charms as to cause a Change in the Substance.

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23. Eighthly, If Reason is to be silent, why must we reject Transubstantiation, so agreeable to Christ's Expression, This is my Body? But if her Voice is to be heard, how can the Real Presence stand its ground? And yet is not that the Belief of all Protestants, except a few, call'd in derision Sacramentarians or Zuinglians? What can be more expressive of it, than saying the

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p. 15.

the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed, and consequently not figuratively and not indeed taken or receiv'd? And accord-Answer to ingly Archbishop Bramhal affirms, That no the Jesuit, genuine Son of the Church of England did ever deny the True Real Presence. But whether it be Con, Sub, Trans, or In, we place among the Opinions of the Schools, and not among the Articles of Faith. If fo, the Difference between the two Churches can only be about the Manner, both agreeing in the Thing: and if one is positive in determining the Modus, is not the other as positive in denying their Modus? And if they are not for Consubstantiation, they must be for Transubstantiation, since there's no Medium between 'em: for the Body, if really present, must be either present with the Elements, or else these must be converted into What Hopes can fuch a one as Dr. Kenn Catechism. have of confounding Transubstantiation, when he has recourse to Omnipotence to maintain the Absurditys of a Real Prefence? And it adds to, rather than takes from the Difficulty, to fay the Body is there not bodily, or after the manner of a Body; but spiritually, or after the manner of a Spirit. And how can one believe he eats the

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Heaven? 24. Ninthly, How can those Churchmen condemn the Papifts for laying fo great

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a stress on Tradition, or fay, according to Chap. 10 the fixth Article, that that which can't be prov'd from Scripture is not requisite to Salvation, who affirm that Bishops, as a distinct Order from Presbyters, are necessary to the very Being of a Christian But if they have so great a Deference for Tradition, why have they not for Prayers for the Dead, fince nothing can be plainer from the antient Liturgys, and Testimonys of the Fathers of the fecond and third Centurys, that that was the general Practice of the Church. And is not Aerius condemn'd as a Heretick for opposing it? Nay, have we not Fathers, whose Authority is look'd on as Sacred in other matters, even for Prayers to the Dead? To which let me add, that

25. If the thousandth part of the Miracles were true, which the Fathers of the greatest Name and Authority, as Jerom, Basil, Austin, &c. assirm with the greatest Assurance, and some of 'em of their own Knowledg, to be done by Relicks; the Veneration which the Church of Rome pays to 'em can't justly be lam'd. But.

26. Tho the Popish Doctrines were eer so absurd, and the Protestant Clergy
ught nothing in particular which kept
m in countenance, yet too many of 'em
maintain such Maxims, in order to oblige
cople to yield an implicit Faith and blind
eference to their Dictates, as must conemn all Separation from the Church of
ome on the account of her peculiar Doc-

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trines; in some of which I shall beg leave to instance, and which may serve for a Reca-

pitulation.

Right of judging and determining all Matters within its Sphere: and confequently, if the Clergy are Governors of the Church, they must determine all Controversys relating to Ecclesiastical Matters; and if they have this Government from God, as he alone gave it 'em, so he alone cou'd deprive 'em of it: and consequently, for their Subjects in Spirituals to disown, on pretence of judging for themselves, the Government under which God has plac'd 'em, is a Crime next to disowning God's own Government. Nay,

(2.) If the Clergy had no other Power than that of admitting Men into, and turning 'em out of the Church, which supposes'em Judges of the Terms of Admission; the Laity, as they valu'd being Members of the Church, were oblig'd to own those

Terms.

(3.) There's no Medium between being govern'd by one's own Reason, and by the Authority of others: for if God requir'd the first, they who did this, how much soever they differ'd in Judgment with one another, wou'd be equally acceptable to him, as having alike done all he requires of 'em to discover his Will. But this is oppos'd by the Clergy of all Denominations, who suppose their Interpretations of, and Inferences from certain Texts to be Fundamentals; and condemn all other Christians

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Christians who presume to follow their Chap. 10 own Judgment in interpreting Scripture, either as Schismaticks or Hereticks, for differing from 'em in the Meaning of those Texts. Nay,

They affirm, that the Liberty of (4.) private Judgment wou'd destroy the Peace and Unity of the Church, by causing in a manner as many Religions as Persons: for the preventing of which private Perfons ought to fubmit to the Determinations of their Spiritual Governors in Religious, as to their Civil in Secular Matters; and that the Church-Governors, confidering the many Spiritual Privileges they enjoy above the Laity, and the Promise of God to be with them to the End of the World. must be suppos'd as well qualify'd to judg in Religious, as others are in Civil Matters; and that it favours of Pride and Prefumption to fet up a private Judgment in opposition to the Church, the Ground and Pillar of Truth, which who soever neglects to hear is no better than a Heathen or Publican.

(5.) If God requires the Belief of those things, which the Bulk of Mankind, for want of Ability, Leisure or Learning, are not able to judg of, as 'tis plain there are such in all Churches; some must be appointed to judg of these things for them. And,

(6.) The constant and universal Practice of the Church, the best Interpreter of her Right, has, 'tis said, put this Power of the Clergy out of dispute; since Councils Dd and

and Synods have all along taken upon en to judg for the People, by framing their Deductions from and Interpretations of Scripture, into Creeds, Articles and Canons; and have oblig'd all under Spiritual

Cenfures to fubmit to'em. Nay,

(7.) Have they not inferted this Power of theirs in an Article of the Creed, com. monly call'd the Apostles, viz. I believe the Catholick Church? For how can any pretend to believe the Catholick Church, who relies not on her Authority, in taking that for Truth which she declares to be so, but trys every Doctrine by the Touchstone of his own private Reason? As 'tis talking in a Circle to fay fuch Doctrines are true because the Catholick Church holds em and this is the Catholick Church because it holds these Doctrines; so 'tis no less than a Contradiction to fay, I believe the Catholick Church, and yet at the fame time affirm, I am bound to judg of her Doctrines, and take and reject as 'tis most agreeable to my private Judgment. And if there were not fuch a Church always in being, to be distinguish'd by such Notes and Marks as all might know her, in order to believe as the believes; this Article wou'd be as impertinent as one's believing some body or other had a certain Remedy for his Diftemper, without knowing the Person, or having any Marks to diffinguish him from a great many others, who with equal Assurance pretended to the same Receit, tho they only administer'd deadly Poison.

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If these and such-like Maxims are true, Chap. 10 then our Foresathers Separation from the Church of Rome, upon pretence of private Judgment, must be unlawful, and so must our continuing in a Separation thus unlaw-

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27. Besides, how can the Protestants pretend to be a Part of the Apostolick Catholick · Church, if That, as the Clergy on all sides hold, has had from its first Beginning a continu'd perpetual Existence; since their Churches are but of yesterday, as owing their Being to their Separation from Rome? Nor will the usual Answer, that they only reform'd that Part of the Catholick Church they were Members of before, serve their turn: for if the Church of Rome was Part of the Catholick Church, as this Answer supposes, those who separated from that Church can lay no claim to it; fince the Catholick Church, as both Partys agree, is not large enough to hold two opposite Communions. And this the Protestant, as well as Popish Clergy, take to be so unquestionable a Truth, that all their Notions relating to Schismatical Churches are founded upon To which may be added,

28. That if no True Church can be without an Independent Power belonging to their Ecclesiasticks, the Church of England, as 'tis plain from the Laws which establish her, does not claim any such Power: and as little can she pretend (as may be perceiv'd by what has been already said) another suppos'd Essential of a Church, an uninter-

rupted Succession.

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20. Without some Visible Head or Univerfal Bishop, the Church cou'd not be fo united within it felf, as all Partys agree it is: for if the Bishops had each the same Power from God, they must be equal to and independent of one another; and confequently, each wou'd be unaccountable to all the rest, who by their Decrees cou'd not oblige him or his District in which he was Independent. Nor cou'd any Agreement among the Bishops, if every one did consent, alter this Form of Government which God had fettl'd for his Church, either by placing the Power in an Ecclefiastical Senate of all the Bishops of the Christian World, or by dividing the Church into feveral Independent Na-And without a Common tional Bodys. Head, to whom the Power of the Bishops as they die devolves, 'tis impossible there fhou'd be a Succession of Bishops: fince no one can bestow Episcopal Power, where he has none himself; nor cou'd any befides fuch a Head, to whom Men upon their Conversion become subject, add to the number of Bishops, and by assigning to each the Limits of his Power divide a newly converted Country between them. And without fuch a Head no Acts of any relating to Excommunication, Ordination, &c. cou'd be valid further than his own District; to extend 'em to the whole Church can only be done by an Authority which reaches fo far. without such a Head cou'd any Differences between Churches independent of one another

ther be compos'd. And the Clergy can't Chap. 10 urge any Argument for an Authority to decide Differences between Members of the fame District, which will not hold much stronger for an Authority, which for this reason is to extend to all the Districts of the Christian World. Thus it is that the common-receiv'd Notions favour a Papal Supremacy, nay make it necessary for the Center of Catholick Union and Commu-

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30. That which gave the Papists fo great Advantage, was Clergymens talking (I mean in some former Reigns) so very with themselves, not only inconfistent when they endeavour'd to reconcile the Regal Supremacy with what themselves claim'd by Divine Right, but when they disputed with Papists and Dissenters; using the very same Arguments against the latter, which they were under a necessity of condemning in the former. Nor wou'd they allow those who separated from 'em the same Plea which themselves us'd to justify their Separation from the Papists, but talk'd like 'em when they had to do with Diffenters, and like Diffenters when they had to do with Papists: for then they affirm'd that no Man was oblig'd to submit to the Doctrine or Discipline of any or all the Churches in the World, if he judg'd it not agreeable to the Word of God; and commended the brave Luther, as acting nobly and heroically in separating, tho by himself, upon this Principle from all the Churches then Dd 3 in

But when they argu'd with the Diffenters, and at all other times, they talk'd diametrically opposite to this, and carry'd the Power and Authority of the Church as high as the Papists themselves: as may be feen not only in Bishop Sparrow's Preface to Collections of Articles, &c. mention'd in my Preface, but in the rest of the Writers of those Times. And their Practice made their Principles too evident, fince they were not only for hindring Men by a Restraint of the Press from seeing any Arguments which made against their Determinations, but for forcing 'em by Ecclesiastical and Civil Penaltys to comply, tho ever fo much against their Consciences. And what did the Papists, or can they do more for the fake of a blind Obedience and an implicit Belief? And did not the Penal Laws extend to Property, Liberty, and Life?

Chap. 6.

31. If the Essence of Protestantism confifts, as Mr. Chillingworth maintains, in this fingle Article, That God does not, and therefore Men ought not to require any more of a Man, than to believe the Scripture to be the Word of God, and to endeavour to find out the true Sense of it; no Protestant Clergy can claim Authority in Matters of Faith, or take upon 'em judicially to censure Opinions, or to frame their Inferences from Scripture into Articles, &c. or endeavour to exclude all from Church-Preferments who will not affent and confent to them; or to put the Laity under an Incapacity for Places of Trust and Profit, or under any other Hardfhip,

ship, cording which Men in God,

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thip, for doing their Duty in acting ac-Chap. 10 cording to this Protestant Principle, to which all such things as tend to prejudice Men in judging of the Sense of the Word of

God, are directly opposite. 32. The Difference between Mr. Chillingworth and those who writ sometime before him against the Papists, is, that they had carry'd their Notion of Church-Authority so high as to make the Separation from Rome unjustifiable: but the he effectually justifies it, yet 'tis by destroying all Church-Authority. What can be more opposite to it than his faying, " That Chap. 4. "this presumptuous imposing of the Sen- n. 16. " fes of Men upon the Words of God, " the Special Senses of Men upon the Ge-" neral Words of God, and laying 'em " upon mens Consciences rogether, under " the equal Penalty of Death and Damna-" tion; this vain Conceit, that we can " speak of the Things of God better than " the Words of God; this Deifying our " own Interpretations, and tyrannous en-" forcing 'em on others; this restraining " the Word of God from that Latitude " and Generality, and the Understanding " of Men from that Liberty wherein " Christ and his Apostles left 'em, is and " hath been the only Fountain of all the " Schisms of the Church, and that which " makes 'em immortal, the common In-" cendiary of Christendom, and that which " tears in pieces not the Coat, but the " Bowels and Members of Christ, Ridente "Turca, nec dolente Judeo? Take away

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these Walls of Separation, and all will " quickly be One: Take away this Per-" fecuting, Burning, Curfing, Damning of Men for not subscribing to the Words " of Men as the Words of God: Reco quire of Christians only to believe christ, and to call no man Master but " Him only: Let those leave claiming In-" fallibility who have no Title to it; and e let them that in their Words disclaim it, " disclaim it likewise in their Actions: In a word, take away Tyranny, which is "the Devil's Instrument to support Errors, and Separations, and Impietys - and "Universal Liberty thus moderated, may " quickly reduce Christendom to Truth and "Unity. And after this manner does he write in at least twenty places of his Book: and these are the Sentiments of honest Mr. Hales in his Tract of Schism, where in express Terms he declares there's no fuch thing as Church-Authority. But to return.

Persecution labour'd to shew a great difference between their Conduct and that of the Papists; yet upon their common Principles they cou'd show none which was not to their Disadvantage.

For the Papists said, that to avoid Error and Confusion, the Guides of the Church were so influenc'd by the Holy Spirit, as not to determine any thing contrary to Truth; and that the People might rely on 'em without danger of having salfe Doctrines impos'd upon 'em, or Scripture so inter-

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interpreted as to make it inconfistent with Chap. 10 it felf.

High-Church, tho they cou'd not deny they were liable to Mistakes, yet they equally assum'd the Power of judging for the People, and generally talk'd as if the Fault of the Papists was not barely doing this, but doing it on pretence of Infallibility; and took it for granted they might act like 'em, as long as they were so modest as to disown the only thing which cou'd be pretended for a Justification of

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34. Such a Power as this among Protestants, considering how widely they differ with one another, wou'd oblige a Man to change his Sentiments with his Habitation, and the Difference of a Degree or two in the Climate wou'd make him profess contrary Opinions: which is avoided among the Papists, who allow this Power not to every National, but to the Catholick Church alone; which interposes her Authority only in things of the greatest moment to her Interest, but in others, tho the Differences among 'em are very numerous, it leaves every one to their Liberty, excluding none from any Civil or even Ecclesiastical Preferment on the account of those Differences: while some who pretend to oppose her, think they can't make the Terms of Communion too narrow, and are for prejudicing the Publick, by excluding all from ferving in any Post, who can't comply with these narrow Terms.

or gand day iThe main Difference; between thefe Churchmen and those of Rome was, that the first were, as they said, for allowing the People a general Liberty of reading the Scripture, while the last wou'd not grant it promiscuously. But if the Press, as both Sides then agreed, was to be reftrain'd, left the People might apprehend the Scripture in fuch a Sense as their Spiritual Guides judg'd to be false; it can't be deny'd that the Popish Clergy aded most charitably in not trusting the Generality of the People with the Scripture it felf, but only with their Senfe of it, as 'tis express'd in their Catechisms, Confesfions of Faith, Books of Devotion, de where there's no danger of their taking it in a Sense contrary to that of their Church And therefore on this common Principle Archbishop Brambal had reason to affirm, bimself and a that the promiseuous Licence which they

D. 117.

the Episco- u (the Protestants) give to all forts to read pal Clergy, a and interpret Scripture is more prejudicial, nay pernicious, than the over-rigorous Restraint of the Romanists. And they who think thus, must, as foon as conveniently they can, reftrain this promifcuous Licence of reading the Scripture.

36. Thus it was that fome Men betray'd the Reformation, and tempted People to believe that they had a bad Caufe indeed to manage, when they suppos'dit necessary, for the Preservation of their own Church, to act quite contrary to that Principle to which it ow'd its very Being; and that their exclaiming against the Church

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danger Papist in of the of the I whatever his Religi not bear ny thous tence. 1

37. Ca Hardships of Ceren which the Church, c ng to pre Church of Rome for doing (the confishent Chap. 10 with her own Principles) the very same things they practis'd themselves, requir'd, to fay no worfe, a very good Stock of 'Twas this Conduct of theirs Assurance. which occasion'd that Remark of their beloved Charles II. when in comparing the two Churches, he faid, one feem'd to be in earnest, and t'other in jest: which was not fo severe as what a Reverend Divine exprest on this occasion; " The English Priestcraft " is the coarsest that ever I saw; the Romish " is fine, and has made a delicate Book of " Father Paul's Trem History; theirs is the " Depths of Satan, and ours is his Shallows. But this can't reflect on the present Church. fince the Penal Laws, and the Restraint of the Press, the Badges of Popery, are taken away. And,

Whosoever desires em again, or pretends the Protestant Church of England is in danger for want of em, must either be a Papist in his Heart, since the Domination of the Clergy, and the blind Submission of the Laity, is Popery in any Church whatever; or else an Atheist, and believes his Religion a mere State-Trick, which will not bear Examination, tho there are so many thousand Learned Men listed in its De-

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37. Can Protestents, who are for putting Hardships on People, even on the account of Ceremonys or Modes of Discipline, which they call preserving the National Church, condemn the Papists for endeavouring to preserve the Catholick Church after

the

damning Sin, and all are guilty of it who are not of the Church establish'd by Law, Charity to the Souls of People, in preventing their eternal Ruin by the spreading of Schism, will require the utmost degree of Force. So that till this Protestant Principle be thorowly settl'd, that 'tis not lawful for a State to make any distinction between its Subjects on a Church-account, 'tis impossible to find any Principles on which to attack the Papists for their worst part of Popery, their Persecutions, which they may

not with Advantage retort.

38. If what I have been now faying be a Digression, I hope 'tis not a very unfeafonable one, fince it gives People 1 Caution to avoid fuch Opinions, tho ever fo confidently afferted by their Priests, as have so direct a Tendency to Popery. Nay, how can we be affur'd that those Men, who talk backward and forward for their Interest, will not be consistent with themselves, if that wou'd as well serve their turn; much more if that would wonderfully advance their Power, as Popery must when it becomes the National Religion? And tho they might formerly have hop'd, by the help of the Penal Law and the Restraint of the Press (especially when the High Commission Court, Star-Chamber, &c. were in being) of them felves to have got as great a Power over the People as the Popish Clergy by such like means have obtain'd; yet fince the present Liberty has so intirely defeat

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any fuch Defign, they must despair of Chap. 10 effecting that now by any other way than downright Popery. And what Principles have these Men to hinder 'em from declaring for it, whenever they can do it without any hazard to themselves; and in the mean time from acting fo as may best ferve to promote the Interest of those Powers which are for bringing it in, and to weaken the Administration of those who oppose it? Will their old Notions of the Divine Right of Kings, and the Unlawfulness of putting by the next Heir of the Crown, hinder em from acting thus? And what can more effectually cover their Defigns, as well as give 'em hopes of succeeding, than to make the World believe the Danger of the Church is from another Quarter; and that to preserve it, their Tools and Instruments are only to be employ'd? Whether this be fo or no, 'tis the Interest of the Laity, who must lose as much by Popery as these Clergymen will gain, not to be impos'd on by specious Pretences, but to judg of Mens Intentions by the whole Course of their Actions.

Since this Discourse grows too bulky for one Volume, I shall finish the rest in the next; where, if the Author may be allow'd to be a competent Judg, the Reader will find a full Answer to all the Arguments drawn from Scripture as well as Reason, for the Independent Power of the Clergy.

39. Now I shall conclude with a Word or two in behalf of the Author, who hopes

hopes that no Person, consider'd either at a Man, can blame him for defending the Natural Rights of Mankind, or as a Christian, for striking at the Root of An. tichristian Priestcraft. And he can't ap. prehend but that every real Protestant must approve his Attempt of maintaining, in their full Latitude, those almost forgotten Principles on which the Reformation was built, and which render Popery, that has nothing to support it except the absurd Notions of High-hurch, naked and defenceless; and of destroying those unnatural Heats and Fends which Difference in Discipline creates among the Reform'd, and thereby prevents their hearty Union against the common Enemy. And he hopes all of the National Church will approve this Defign, fince only the Principles he goes on can justify its Constitution, with relation to the Dependency of the Clergy. Nor can those who differ from him, have any just reason to be dissatisfy'd for his giving em an opportunity to expose and baffle all the contrary Arguments: fince if they have Truth on their side, nothing can do their Cause a greater kindness than mustering up those Reasons which oppose it. For Truth, the more 'tis try'd, the clearer and brighter it appears; especially if those who defend it have all the Advantages which Wit and Learning can afford. And they who are fond of Truth, will be fo indifferent whether any particular Opinion

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be true, as to imbrace all Opportunitys of Chap. 10 having it fairly debated. And who foever takes a contrary Method, tis plain that somewhat beside a Regard to Truth does influence him : and if in this case the Luft of Power prevails, and the Author for his Love to Truth and Zeal for the Church by Law establish'd, be so unhappy as to fall under the Displeasure of some Ecclesiasticks even of the National Church, for striking at their Great Diana, he hopes the Laity will take him into their Protection, and not discourage, as they have hitherto done, abler Pens from engaging on their fide against their mortal Enemys, who claim an Absolute Uncontroulable Power over their Minds, and by consequence over their Persons and Estates: which had not obtain'd, as it does in most places, had not the Laity been highly instrumental in putting on their own Fetters, and in ruining those who attempted to knock 'em off; whose Sufferings the Clergy then represented as the just Judgment of God, for having most Atheistically (nothing sooner giving a Man the Character of an Atheist than being an Enemy to Priestcraft) oppos'd their Sacred Authority. But shou'd he be ever so much expos'd to the Malice of fuch Men, who almost as seldom want the Power as they do the Will to crush all that oppose their Interest, yet nothing can deprive him of the inward Satisfaction he finds in endeavouring to promote the Spiritual as well

### The Rights, &cc.

well as Temporal Welfare of Mankind, in opposing a Doctrine which has in a great measure made ineffectual that Angelick Wish, of Glory to God on High, Peace on Earth, and Good Will towards Men!

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# Alphabetical Table

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# Principal Matters.

#### A.

Bfolution by a Priest only, being believ'd necessary, a ready means to enslave a State, 249. Albigenses and Waldenses endeavour'd to be extirpated thro the Instigation of the Clergy, Alterations in Government are by the Confent of the Partys concern'd, Anne, Queen, a Character of her, 272. Apostles had not a Right to govern their Converts, antecedent to their Conversion, 154. Requiring Rules to be observ'd in Christian Assemblys, supposes a Power in the People, 155. Only offer their Advice when they act not as the Embassadors of Christ, 159. Whether they had a Right to govern the Church and appoint Successors,

consider'd, 162, &c. Only Governors of Parts of the Church, 381. If they had been one Supreme Power, no Laws cou'd have been made but by a Majority of them,

Appointment Divine of Bishops, see Bishops. Atheists cannot plead a Right to Toleration on the account of Conscience, odano

BAptism frequently in the Primitive Times administer'd by Laymen, 135. admin fter'd then, Bishops, &c. the Choice of 'em in the Parrys concern'd in the Church, 177, 356. Which gives 'em a full Right to the Office, 177. Not to be divided between them and the Clergy, 178. Their being by Divine Appointment, &c. the Absurditys thereof, 313. Without them, by it no Religious Society can be a Christian Church, 314. Weakens the Protestant Cause, 315. Protestants can't be a true Church, 318. lift have no Power by Succession, 324. Their Power of Ordination not more indelible than their Jurisdiction, 363. Can't be appointed over any District but by a Legislative Power, 364. If not Supreme in their own District, necessarily infers an Universal One, 384. Their Power to govern only lies in the People's Choice, 387. In England act only Ministerially, by virtue of a Regal Com-390. miffion. Bristol, a remarkable Instance of High Church 285. being against imploying the Poor.

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peir ban

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per,

ict, 84.

Peo-

only

om-

90.

urch

85. C. nove, 128. Here a Right to the

Harity Universal, the Want of it among d Christians owing to the Priests, &c. 117. Christians, the first not confin'd to any one Form of Discipline, 124. Follow'd at first the Model of the Jews, 125. Frequented their Synagogues, 126. All oblig'd to do what they can for the saving another's Soul, 131. In the Mahometan Empire, Submit to their Bishaps being put in by the Government, 138. One may be a good one, tho of no Church, 139. Their Discipline teaches us to act agreeably to the State me are in, 152. Have a Power to judg in all Matters relating to Religion, prov'd by Scripture, 162. And the Fathers, 165, &c. At first manag'd their Affairs by a Majority, 169. How they came to lose their Power, 171. The Primitive ones never afferted the Independent Power of the Clergy, 181. Afferted the Disinterestedness of the first Preachers of the Gospel. 182. 60. Have not a coercive Person 61.

Church or Religious Society to be chosen by every one for himself, 23. The Power of making Clergymen, &c. belongs to it, 80. Excluding Aden from it contrary to the Rules of Charity, 88. The Government of it ought not always to be the same, 123. Every one a compleat Body Politick in respect of Ecclesiastical Matters, 378. Churches Evangelical not design d by God to be projudicial to Civil Polity, 125. Must judg whether Ministers preach according to the

the Scripture, 128. Have a Right to constitute such for that end, ibid. What is for their Good can't be contrary to the Will of God, 142. No particular Form of their Government of Divine Appointment, 174. Clarendon, Earl of, the Mischiefs he ascribes to the owning two Independent Powers in the Same State, 304. Shews how fatal to the Protestant Cause our breaking off Communion with the Reform'd Churches was, 340. Clergy excluded from the Civil Magistrate's Jurisdiction, if Ecclesiastical Power be In-dependent, 37. Their Power of Excommunication takes from the Magistrate the Power of dispossessing any for a Crime, 38. By an Independent Power have a Right toexcommunicate for Crimes against the publick Good, 45. By which they have a Right to every thing necessary for Government, 18. That Power gives them Authority over the Temporal Sovereign, 51. Whether they excommunicate by Power deriv'd from Christ or the Magistrate, consider'd, 55. Are not for two, but one Independent Power, viz. their own, 60. Have not a coercive Power, 61. An Objection answer'd, 63. Have only a Right to advise, ib. Their Rower not Internal, 66. Punishments inflicted by them not Eternal, 67. Their Power only Declarative; for if more, it is Judicial, 68. By "It they invade the People's natural Right and the Magistrate's Prerogative, 69. Pretend to a Judicial Power, 70. By it they invade the incommunicable Rights of God, 74 How the Embassadors of God, 78. Whether they can inflict Spiritual Punishments, con-

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74.

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consider'd, 85. Have no Jurisdiction to exclude Men from Communion for immoral Actions, 90. Nor to oblige Men to their Communion by penal Laws, 92. Why they introduc'd this Custom, 94. Their ways to make the People stand in awe of their Excommunication, 100. Their Distribution alone of the Lord's Supper an Innovation, 106. Reproving and rebuking People not peculiar to them, 109. Which tends to the Discouragement of Virtue and Morality, 112. Qualifications necessary to their so doing, 115. Submission to them will not make amends for the Neglect of Consideration, 116. Some prefer their own Temporal Interest before the Eternal Good of Souls, 129. Have often embroil'd the Laity in Defence of their Order, 143, &c. Interest to have Religion corrupted, 190. Their Poverty a means of keeping the People from Corruption, 219. Keep the People in Ignorance, and why, 221. By their Education of Youth capable of doing much mifchief to the Publick, 244, &c. The Regular more dangerous to a State than the Secular, 253. Their being exempt from worldly Employs destructive to a State, 265. Why they have an Aversion to Free Governments, 269. For promoting Tyranny when they can govern Princes, ibid. Those are justly to be esteem'd who disown all Independent Power, 303. In writing against the Papists they generally disown it, 305. For the three first Centurys refus'd not laying Hands on any the Church chose, 353. Maintain such Maxims as must condemn Ee 3

all Separation from Rome on account o
all Separation from Rome on account of Doctrines,
Congregations Independent and National mul
needs have a different Polity, 124. Hon
they have a Right to make or unmake their
Ministers, 129
Conscience, whether it ought to bind the Ma-
gistrate's Hand,
Confecration of the Elements in the Lord'.
Supper not peculiar to the Clergy, 108
Confent of Men the Original of Government.
7. What Power this gives the Magistrate
in Matters of Religion,
in Matters of Religion, Consideration of our Duty inconsistent with
Ecclesiastical Censures, 116
Councils generally att from a Principle of
Self-Interest, 194. An Account of that at
Nice, 196, &c. By undermining the
Christian Religion, destroy'd the Essence
of it, 202. Not influenc'd by the Holy
Spirit, 205. Acted not by an Inde-
pendent Power, but as the Emperors pleas'd
383. What they do, has no Force unless
the Supreme Power confirms it, 384. See
Synods.
Cyprian St. his Judgment concerning the
Power of the People in Church-Affairs,
165, &c
The many 2009 and the manufactured the same more

D.

Fared	ation is made	
D delibl	e Character	ing, if there is an in- bestow'd by Ordina-
tions	of and sory the	352.
Discipline o	f the Church	must be alter'd ac-
cording to	various Cir	cumstances, 138.
-	2 1	Dif-

Difin the

of Divin

Va Bi

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Po of Eccle

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Eccl P 2: m Eccl

Eccl m

Edu th Em

Disinterestedness of the first Preachers of the Gospel contradicts the Independent Power of the Clergy, 325, &c.

Divines foreign own two Independent Powers in one State to be Antichristian, 308, &c.

Dodwell Mr. his Arguments to prove the Validity of the Deprivation of the Popish Bishops by Queen Elizabeth, consider d, 325, &c.

Druids, by having the Power of Excommuni-

Druids, by having the Power of Excommunication, govern'd all things, 43, 98. Describ'd by Julius Cæsar, 98.

#### E.

E Cclesiastical Power, Pretenders to it who, Power, 37. Wherein the Right of difposing of a deceas'd Bishop's Power consists, 388. Ecclesiastical Polity, if belonging to a particular Set of Men, the Confequences hemn, 126, &c. Destroys every Christian's Duty to another, 131. The Reasons of its Mutability, 147. If immediately from God, no Reformation but by the Consent of the Cler-Ecclesiastical Officers must be appointed by the People only, because they are for their sakes, 237. By their Independent Power do much 244, &c. mischief to the Publick, Ecclesiasticks, Divisions among them the means to preserve Religion and Civil Liberty, 280. Always narrow'd the Terms of Communion, and why, 346. Education of Youth, why not to be intrusted to the High-Church Clergy, Emperors, after they became Christian,

Ee 4

made

made great Alterations in Church-Governa ment, 172. England, bow preserv'd in Liberty, notwithstanding the Doctrine of Passive Obedience preach'd up, 275. The Church of, at the beginning of the Reformation thought no Form of Church-Government fix'd by God, 337. Its twenty third Article confines not the Power of making Ministers to Bishops only, 338. Equality among Men can't be lost without their own Confent, Esteem and Kindness among Men, the Foundation of them, 113, &c. Excluding Men for immoral Actions from Religious Communion unaccountable, 89. And contrary to the Rules of Charity, 92. Reflects on the Clergy themselves, Excommunication, the Power of it in the Clergy, how detrimental to the Magistrate, 38. Its Effect on all Mankind, 41. The Terribleness of it to the Jews, 42. And Ger-Why it does not now strike mans, 43. fuch Terror into Men, 44. Takes from Magistrates the Power of protecting their Subjests, ibid. &c. That'tis only declaring People shou'd avoid the Conversation of ill Men, answer'd, 63. Belongs to the whole Church, 83. Taken from the Practice of the Heathen Priests, 96.

F.

Aithful being oblig'd to preserve the Faith, includes the Power of making their own Ministers,

239.

Fathers

Fath P

Gof

th

60

Gov ty

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F

Hea High

i

1

Fathers have not an arbitrary, but restrain'd Power over their Children, 4.

144

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96.

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GOD acts differently, as Governor of the Universe, and as Prince of a particular Nation,

Gospel cou'd not have been maintain'd, if the Independent Power of the Clergy had been asserted by its first Preachers,

Government is only by the Consent of the Partys concern'd, 7. An Objection against it answer'd, 8. Alteration in it by the same way, 9. Having recourse to any such for Protection is owning it,

Governors good, ought to be most apprehensive of the Notion of two Independent Powers,

258.

#### H.

Heathens, their Custom of sacrificing Men taken from the Druids, 99. Tho they differ'd, did not persecute one another, 260. Nor make Wars on Religious Accounts.

Heathen Priests the Original of Excommunication, 96. High-Church sacrifice the Ends of Civil and Ecclesiastical Government to very unste Means, 145. Their Folly and Madness, ibid. Love not a Prince who makes the Good of his Country his greatest Care, 283. Why they like not Corporations for employing the Poor, &c. 285. The Miracles they can

can work, 291. Their Absurdity in allowing Papists to be part of the visible Church of Christ, 319. Why they maintain the Church of Rome to be a true one, 322. Their Excuse for caressing the profess'd Enemys of Church and State, consider'd, 329. By refusing Communion with the Reform'd Churches abroad, guilty of Schism, 344. The main difference between them and Papists, wherein it lies, 410. Holiness in inanimate things on Consecration, the Occasion of manifold Superstitions, 396. Holy Ghost, Giving it in making a Clergyman, what it means, -74.

I.

Acobites, &c. by pretending to be for the Church, prevent an Examination of their Conduct, 290. Jews excluded none from their Synagogues for Moral Uncleanness, 98. Their Laws the best when fram'd, because most adapted to their Circumstances, 149. Frequently chang'd, and at lest abolish'd by God himself, 150. Why so inclin'd to Superstition, 269. Their Levites not ordain'd by lay-362. ing on of Hands, Ignorance, &c. in the Laity increases according to the Clergy's Power in any place, 229.

Immoral Actions, excluding Men from Religious Communitys for them unaccountable, 89. Contrary to the Rules of Charity, 92.

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Independent Power, two such in the same State, the Impossibility shewn, 33, &c. Conversant about the same things absurd, 34. Tends to destroy the Proof of one Supreme Governor of the Universe, 36. Unjust, because it subjects Men to two Trials for the Same Crime, 46. In the Clergy of Ordination, inconsistent with the Magistrate's Right of protecting the Commonwealth, 47. How it must be brought in, 33. In the Clergy, what offer'd by them for it, not to the purpose, 161. Prevents the Gospel's further spreading, 180. The first Preachers never own'd it, 181. Mens suffering for it not sufficient to Support the Weight of it, 184. The chief occasion that Christianity lost so much ground, 186. Produc'd Popery in the West, 188. By it all Reformations unlawful, without the Clergy's Consent, 232, &c. Not to be allow'd 'em by the Magistrate in Things Ecclefiastical, 246. Destructive to Morality, &c. 266. Debases mens Minds, 267. Serves to produce Superstition in the Laity, 268. Mischiefs attending its Doctrine, 277. How it came to prevail fo much, 294. The Clergy to be justly esteem'd who disown it, 303. The Belief of it equal to that of Transubstantration, Judicial Power pretended to by the Clergy,

160 650 7015 0

L

I Aity imbroild in the Quarrels of their Ecclesiasticks, 143. How affected to the Clergy at the beginning of the Reformation in England, 217. Shou'd not do what the Clergy impose in Provincial Synods and Councils, 240, &c. Are oblig'd to renounce their Teachers, if erroneous, 242. Why not now so much under the Domination of the Clergy as formerly, 255. Of the Popish Religion, how they received benefit by the Protestants separating from them, 282. Their Prescription in Spiritual Matters, how long time necessary to make it pass into Right, Laymen frequently preach'd in the Apostolical Times, 132. And baptiz'd, 135. Their Knowledge being improv'd fatal to Priestcraft, 276. Preach'd frequently in the Universitys in Queen Elizabeth's Time, Legislators, in making Laws have had regard to the Tempers, &c. of their Sub-148. jects, Levites among the Jews not ordain'd by laying on of Hands, Lord's Supper in being held such a Myster, by the Primitive Christians, reflected Difhonour upon the Christian Religion, 97. Why the Clergy vary'd in their Notions and Practices concerning it, 101. receiving it was thought absolutely necessary, 103. Nat necessarily to be received from the Hands of a Priest, M.

M

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Men being Assertant and Companience of Freedom. Mr. 1 Very land

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104 M.

- Stort

on Boar sur mell an Magistrate, what Power he has in mat-ters of Religion, 11. Whether he has any in the Speculative and Ceremonial Parts of it, 14. Has none over Indifferent Things, 15. Nor to abridg any of their Liberty in worshipping God, 16. For the Good of the Society may cut any off from it, 20. Has on some accounts greater Power in Ecclesiaftical than other matters, 21. Loses his Power of protecting his Subjects by the Clergy's Power of Excommunication, 44. Has no Right to use Force, but as he is the Supreme Power, 56. Whether oblig'd to assist the Clergy in putting their Decrees in execution, 57. That they have all Civil Power in Ecclesiasticals shewn, 59. Their Prerogative invaded by the Clergy's pretence to Spiritual Power, 69. Intrusted by the Civil Society with Power of excluding such as do ill, 83. Why they may be depos d by the People, 233. Why taught by the Clergy to be immediately from God, 235. The Infidel, must have a Power of depriving Ecclesiasticks, Mankind most apt to prefer their own Interest to any Motive, Marriage being prohibited to Ecclesiasticks, destructive to the publick Interest, Maxims which some Protestant Divines asfert, too much countenance Popery, 391, &c. Means to an And mutable, the Consequences of denying it no hanned

Men

Men before Agreements and Compacts in
State of Equality, 3. Why Some Suppol
Governours in Religious as well as Civil So
cietys, 25. The they resign their Force, ye
not the Power of approving or disapproving
those they live amongst,
Metaphysical Notions mixt with Religion, o
great advantage to the Clergy to maintain
their Rower, 1
their Power,  Ministers being obtruded on a People, unrea
fonable, when a south small to 2 1237
Ministry in Religion, its End and Design, 128
Monarch Spiritual in the Church, Argument
us'd by the Clergy for the Necessity of one
388 Has no Kirks to a le Force, but no
Monopolys Ecclesiastical, most prejudicial to
the State
Moral Things only obligatory to all Men all times,
all times and
Morality much discouraged by the Drieft ove
Morality much discouraged by the Priests pre
tending alone to a power of Reproving, &c
Min Colores visco de la Colores de la Maria del Maria del Maria de la Maria del Maria del Maria de la Maria de la Maria de la Maria del Ma
Musulmen among the Mahometaus, why
rather a true Church than the Papists
321. Can't be charg'd with any thing
tending to Idolatry, ibid.
a Power of deprivate Secreta Below 1997
Manka

MAtions, their Misery where the Clergy most enjoy an Independent Power, 1250 Whence the Danger of lofing their Libertys, 254. Upon becoming Christian, if they bear not a Power of making Church-Governours, must admit an Universal Bishop, of 201886. Naturalization, a General one, why opposed by High-Church, 285. NaziNazi Co Nice

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at 53.

rexc.

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id.

M

ys,

16.

by

Nazianzen, Gregory, his Opinion of General
Councils,
195.
Nice, the first General Council there, Mr.
Marvel's Opinion of it, 196. The Dostrine
of it what,
ibid.
Norcia, Republick there, how it keeps Priests
out of the Government,
274.
Northern Countys, why their being arm'd was
oppos'd by High-Church,
286.

0

Bedience blind, to the Doctrine of the Clergy, destructive to the Liberty of any Nation,

Ordination of Ministers by the Clergy, not mention'd in Scripture,

Orthodoxy, &c. not the Foundation of Esteem and Disesteem of Men,

Oxford Decree of 1683, concerning the Unimerrupted Succession, censur'd,

298, &c.

D

DApists in some places see how destructive the Principle of their Clergy is to Government, 273. No part of the true Apostotick Church, 320. Take great advantage from the Protestant Clergy talking inconsistent with themselves, 405. Paul St. makes the Clergy's claiming an Independent Power to be Antichristian, 159. Paul, Father, his Fears of England's being Priestridden, 257. His Testimony against two Independent Powers in the Same State, 310. Persecution for Conscience-sake the ready way to make men Hypocrites, 17. How dangerous

dangerous to Society, 18. Deprives God
of his Empire over Conscience, 116. Most
prejudicial to Commonwealths, 259.
Philosophers, the Antient, how they would
be surprized to see the Conduct of those
be surprized to see the Conduct of those now, and why,
Popedom not to be avoided, Supposing the
Necessity of one external Head in Eccle-
Cafticals, dond dell yd b 20385.
stasticals, Popish Clergy make very bold with the Holy
Trinity, 76. And Drulds, wherein they
differ, 100. Their Zeal for Aristotle,
and why, 223. Their Indelible Character
consider'd, 350, &c. Which obtain'd not for
Jome Ages among the Clergy, 353.
Power naturally in the Body of the People,
6. The Absurdity of two Independent ones
in the same Society, 29. Independent must
be Supreme, 33. The Impossibility of roo
fuch in the same Society, ibid. Why only
one shou'd be in a Society, 36. Civil
more to be pleaded for than Ecclesiastical,
234. Can't extend further than it self
reaches, 379. See Independent.
Preaching not appropriated to the Clergy, but
common in the Apostles time, 132. The
Consequences of the Breach of that Custom,
Presbyter and Bishop in the New Testament always us'd synonymously, 152. Why a
Superiority in one was established, 172.
Presbyterians have no pretence to an un-
interrupted Succession from the Apostless
interrupted Succession from the Apostles,
Prescription of no force, but in things of
Human Consent, 372. Gives no Right
wood upon

upon Priests nicas

Princes

the nagain Usur Men

Protest tion to pline.

ment Prote 202.

253. dent Refor Disci

with shops

Power vines tenan

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1018

tual,

upon Change of Government, Priefts, Heathen, the Original of Excommunication, Princes, the more they are inclin'd to Religion, the more liable to be influenc'd by the Clergy against the publick Good, 270. Hindering Usurpations over the Conscience, wou'd make Men happy, Protestant Cantons allow not Excommunication to be any part of Ecclesiastical Discipline, 107. Writers acknowledg there is no particular Form of Church-Government of Divine Appointment, 174. Why Protestants forbid the meeting of Synods, 202. Their Advantage over the Papists, Their Clergy as zealous for Indepen-253. dent Power as the Popish, 279. At the Reformation, the differing about Modes of Discipline, forbore not communicating with one another, 344. Can have no Bishops without supposing the deceas'd Bishop's Power devolving to the People, 389: Divines affert some Maxims too much countenancing Popery: what they are, Protestantism, its Essence, wherein it confilts, Puffendorf, Mr. shews how the Universitys were zealous for promoting the Power of the Pope, 224. Panishments, Eternal, belong only to God, Ecclesiastical, the Design of 'em, How they may be said to be Spiri-

Ff

R,

R,

D Eal Presence in the Sacrament, who
R taught by the Popish Clergy, 103. Bu
rejected by the Reformers, 104. The Opi
nion of most Protestants, 397
Reformation in the Church has been by
Laymen, in opposition to the Body of the
Clergy, 211. In England promoted by
K. Henry 8's depriving the Clergy of part
of their Power and Riches, 215. Unlan-
ful, if there is an Independent Power in the
Clergy,
Religion, how necessary to the Support of
Human Societys, 13. To be chosen by eve-
ry one for himself, 23. In the Protestant
Country's purer than in the Popish, 212.
Why not so corrupted in some places as in
others, 219. Not ordain'd for God's, but our fake, 289.
Reproving and rebuking People, not peculia
to the Clarge ICO Qualifications needle
to the Clergy, 109. Qualifications necessary for it,
Roman, and Greek Citizens, why they were full
Lovers of their Country, 295. Why it is
otherwise with them now, 29%

S.

Acra	ments,	their	Validit	y ·	destroy'd
) after	ting a p	articu	lar Set of	FE	cclesiastic
130.	Why th	eir Ni	mber w	as	increas a
Schism	mish Cl	s any	Claim	to	Apostolic
Power	,				School School

Se

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397.

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232.

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212.

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289.

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y it is

oy'd h fiastick eas'd h

248

351

postolica

School

296.

115.

School-Divinity, why contriv'd by the Romish Clergy, 226. What Advantage to the Clergy, ibid. Of use to some to evade Oaths, Scripture takes not from, nor adds any Power to the Magistrate, 2. Makes no mention of any particular Form of Church-Government, 174. Gives the People of a Church sufficient Right to make use of what Means 238. they please, Self-preservation the Original of appointing Government, Succession, an uninterrupted one of Bishops, the Absurditys of it, 313. By it no Religious Society without them can be a Chriftian Church, 314. Weakens the Protestant Cause, 315. Protestants by it can't be a True Church, 318. The Line now uncertain, &c. 349. Destroys the very Being of a Church, 365. If it has been interrupted, the People had power to make their own Officers, Synods, why so magnify'd by the Clergy, 193. Act commonly for their own Interest, Why forbid by Protestants, 202. 194. Tho not abolish'd in England, yet their Power curtail'd, 203. Not influenc'd by the Holy Spirit, 205. If compos'd of Laymen, there would not have been so many Corruptions in the Church, 210.

T.

Temple, Sir William, his Observation on Religion in Holland, 213.

Temporal Conducters not being impos'd, Spiritual ought not, 240.

Test,

Test, a Religious, why there for Coll Employs,	shou'd be non
Testament, the New, no when depriving People of their Rig	re shews a Lan
Church-Matters, 156. Bi	it the contrary
Texts to prove the Apostles had	da Right to go.
vern the Church and appoint consider'd,	Successors, &c.
who assist them, 26. Adva	ustify not those
ambitious Clergy,	276.

Enice, the Senate of, Supreme in Ecclesiastical, as well as in Temporal Affairs, 253. Fences it self against the Principles of the Priests, 273. Universal Head or Bishop, without it the Church cannot be united in it self, confider'd. 404. Universities, why zealous for the Power of the Pope, 224. When most prejudicial to the Publick, 302. Why they affert the uninterrupted Succession of Bishops, 348.

#### W.

WAldenses, endeavour'd to be extirpated at the Instigation of the Clergy, 262.

Wars on account of Religion, frequent when the Clergy came to govern Princes, 261.



····e 12 f-he 3. he 6-4. of to n-.8.

irgy, 62. hen